

CURRENT HISTORY

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PROMINENT FIGURES IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS



AUSTEN
CHAMBERLAIN
British Foreign
Secretary



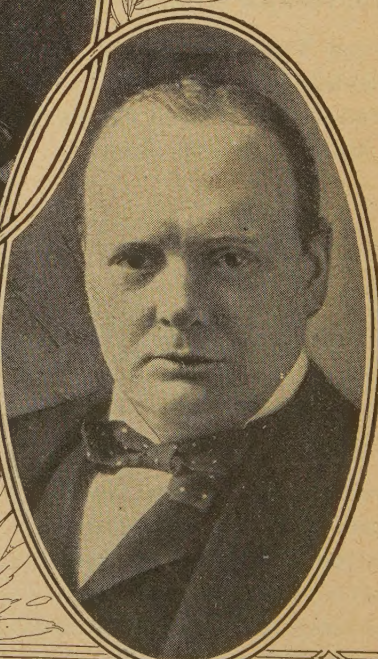
RUDOLF
RAMEK
Premier of
Austria



HANS LUTHER
German
Chancellor



ETIENNE CLEMENTEL
French Finance Minister



WINSTON CHURCHILL
British Chancellor of the Exchequer

Mirroring Washington

By CLINTON W. GILBERT

Author of "The Mirrors of Washington" (in part) and "Behind the Mirrors"

IN many ways this is not the happiest moment to write of Washington. If

I could wait until a new sense of the power, dignity and great destiny of the country had reflected itself in the building of the capital, I should fill these pages with more pleasure in what I have to describe. But I am writing just after a great war, whose ravages were not confined to the devastated regions of France. And a good friend of the United States, M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, who has just retired, speaking with his sense of the beauty of cities, has warned us that we are in danger of having all the charm that we have been in the habit of associating with Washington submerged under the cubical pile of bricks that we call apartment houses, and he might have added, of having what was Washington ringed around with a dense circle of ugliness, the hasty work of the speculative builder, hurrying to relieve the housing shortage.

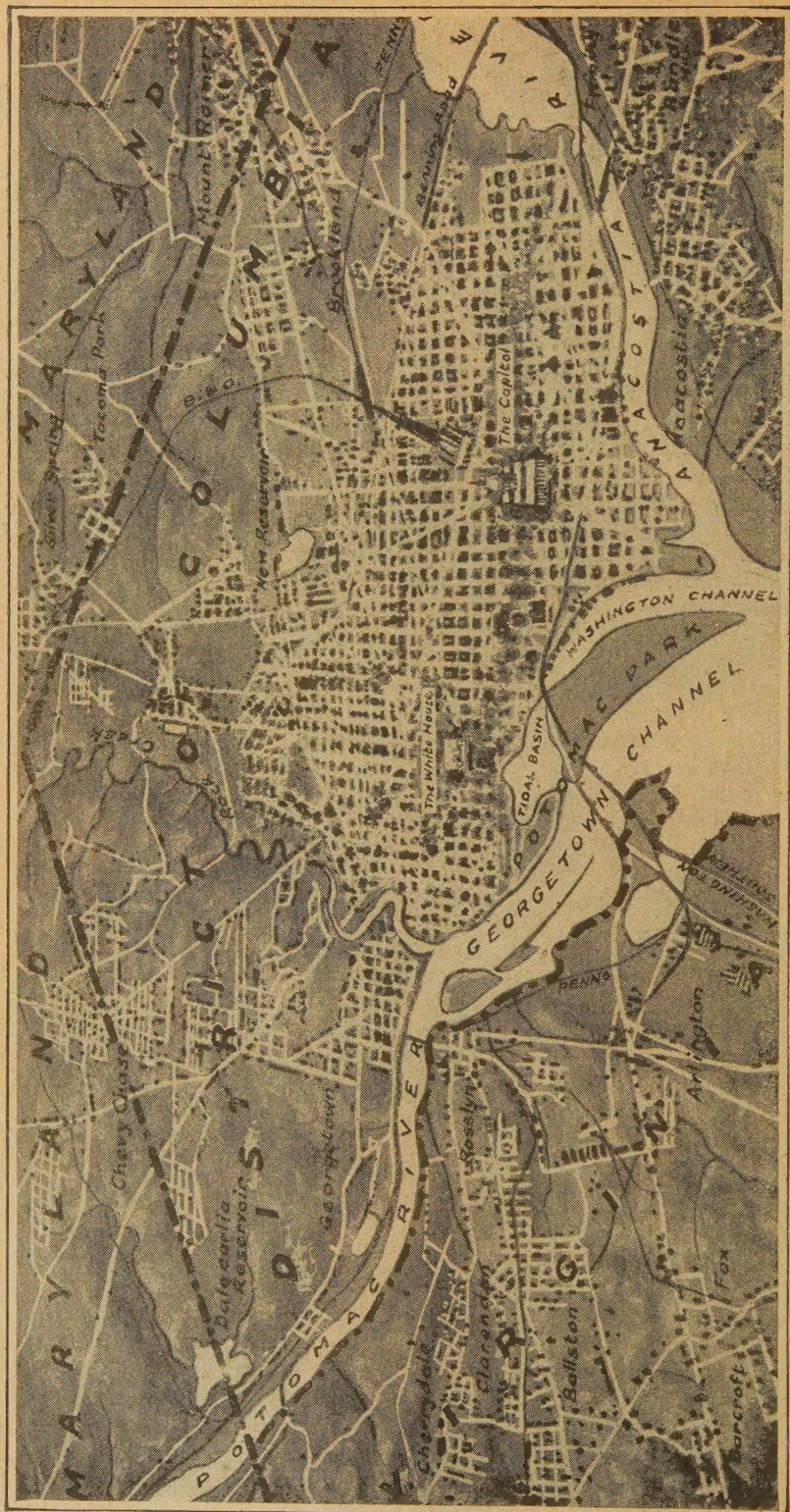
Wars have always done their damage to Washington. The Civil War found it and kept it a Southern village—a "mudhole," the rest of the country called it. Edward Everett Hale tells of seeing during the war an artillery wagon stuck in the mud in front of the Treasury Building. And he quotes a woman as relating how when she as a belle rode with her father in Lincoln's inaugural parade, their carriage stuck in the mud and her father had to descend and lift it out of the mire of the capital's principal street.

In Grant's Administration a sense that we were a great and united nation which should have a worthy capital asserted itself, and a remarkable man, "Boss" Shepherd—Alexander R. Shepherd—converted Washington into a modern city, paved and sewered, with wide and dignified streets. A little before his time a swamp had lain across Penn-

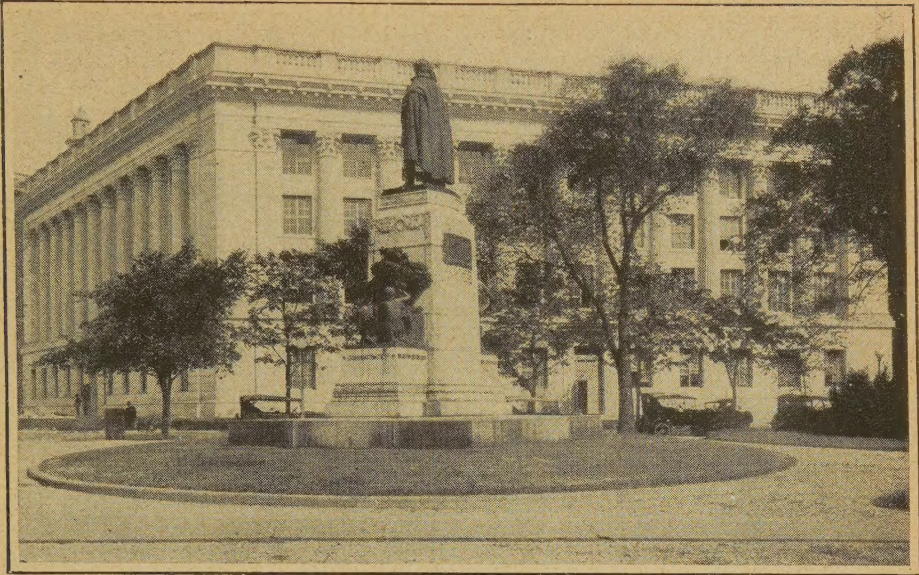
sylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House, Pennsylvania Avenue, which was to have been the Champs Elysées, the Unter den Linden, of Washington, but which somehow never came to pass. Shepherd spent \$26,000,000 in three years on the city of which he was the benevolent despot. It was a good deal of money for those days, a good deal of money for these days, when Presidents must give up the luxury of riding in private cars and of having caterers at the White House receptions. But economy, like every other national impulse, will spend its force. And suddenly we shall all realize that we have been left owning most of the world, as bond or stock holders, and that we should have a capital worthy of the nation.

There is, I know, a prospect of some \$50,000,000 being spent upon public buildings in Washington in the next five years, if the logrolling gentlemen in Congress who insist that not a cent shall be appropriated for Washington until adequate provision is also made for public buildings in Smith's Corners and Jones's Falls can be appeased. Noble plans exist on paper for temples of justice and what not. But Washington has always had beautiful plans on paper, always since Major L'Enfant in the beginning made his powerful impress upon the city. As one who has a reasonable love for the city I would rather see the new buildings go up in a less utilitarian day than this and one less awed by its new war debts, one with larger visions and bolder dreams than it is now good politics to have.

Our President walks the streets, the only pedestrian President we have had in a generation, though we read in the old books, like Perley's "Reminiscences," how President William Henry Harrison and Secretary of State Daniel



Washington, the District of Columbia and surroundings in the States of Maryland and Virginia. The map also indicates the diagonal thoroughfares with which L'Enfant intersected the rectangular plan of the city



Harris & Ewing

The new building of the United States Chamber of Commerce, as seen from Lafayette Park, with the statue of Baron von Steuben in the foreground

Webster used to take their own market baskets down to market. We have gone back to first principles, and how intensely practical we are! The argument for the \$50,000,000 worth of new buildings is the argument of economy, that the Government is spending more on rent than the carrying charge on the new structures would be. I should feel better assured that the Government would not build structures precisely like the commercial office buildings that are going up to house the vast array of lawyers for whom business was created by the Income Tax Division of the Treasury Department, if the argument went rather to the creation of a capital that was to be worthy of the republic that ranks with Greece and Rome.

OLD AND NEW

In the meantime we have to realize that the old Washington is gone and that the new Washington has not yet arrived. I should like to have seen the old Washington, when one got stuck in the mud driving along Pennsylvania Avenue, and when President Zachary

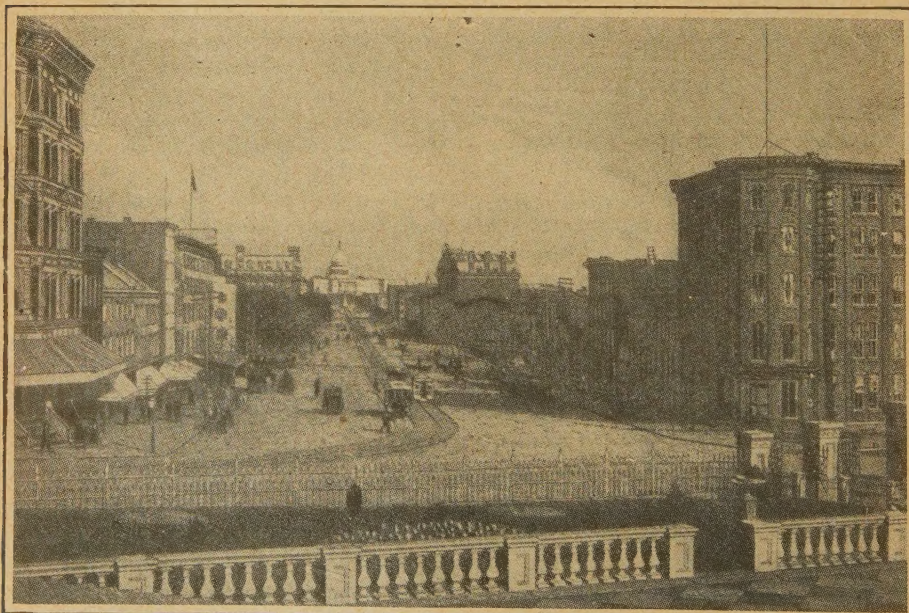
Taylor, with his top hat on the back of his head, like a badly leaning Tower of Pisa, looking like an illustration of one of Thackeray's novels, strolled along that embryonic Appian Way. Down on the avenue is an old hotel which means to me old Washington more than anything else in town. It is a long, low structure, with two balconies, a sloping roof and chimneys that gladden the eye (why has the building of chimneys become a lost art?) It looks like a fine old Southern inn. I like it better than any other hotel in town—I mean from the outside. I have never hazarded the inside.

I pick out this hotel to say that when it was the capital's leading caravansery and when old "Rough-and-Ready" Zach Taylor strolled the swamp-bisected local Champs Elysées all too briefly, wearing the dignity of his Presidential tall hat lightly, the Government of the United States, visible as the Capitol crowning Capitol Hill and the White House, set among its trees and lawns, dominated the city. In those days nothing bigger than three or four story private build-

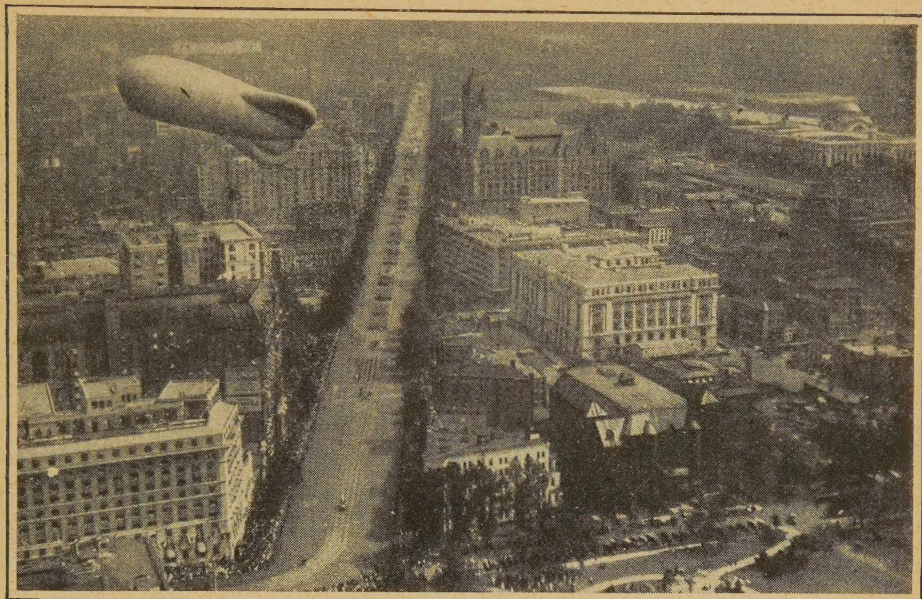
ings like the old hotel, the White House and the Capitol made Washington. They stood out from every point of view, the Capitol with all its impressiveness, the White House a vision of beauty and dignity. The Capitol, on its hill and out of the region of office buildings, still strikes the eye of every one who arrives in Washington by train. Your fortunate first impression is that you are in the governmental city of a great nation. I suppose the impression of Washington that nearly every one carries away is unconsciously that first vision of the Capitol rising from its heights, perhaps a little cloudlike, with soft lights playing upon it at night—that and the Washington Monument, which was, I suppose, America's first skyscraper. In my youth we used to read how many feet taller or shorter than this shaft of stone was the latest upward reach of building in our proud home town. Though the monument is no longer the nation's measuring stick, it remains an odd early example of the impulse upward of building in this country—part of the gigantism of a nation with a continent at its disposal—

and it is also a lesson in the striking effects that may be achieved by sheer, bare proportion. The White House, too, seen amid its greenery in the Spring across a bed of white phlox, is a sight worth coming far to see; and the Lincoln Memorial, in the park south of the White House, outside—what we commonly think of as the City of Washington, where few see it except the determined sightseers—these are what we think of when we say that Washington is a beautiful city.

They builded well, these early contrivers of the capital, who laid it out in the swamps and bottom lands of the Potomac, as a result of a political deal fixed up at a dinner party in Jefferson's "Monticello," by which the South got the capital and the moneyed North got Hamilton's assumption bill, which took care of some State debts. Not in all the hundred and a quarter years since have we dreamed as well as did those early visionaries who set up the Capitol and the White House in the wilderness where was to arise a great city, one of the great ports of the Eastern seaboard. The initial vision of a great entrepot of



Pennsylvania Avenue, as it appeared about 1870



Underwood

Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, photographed from the air during a military parade in 1919

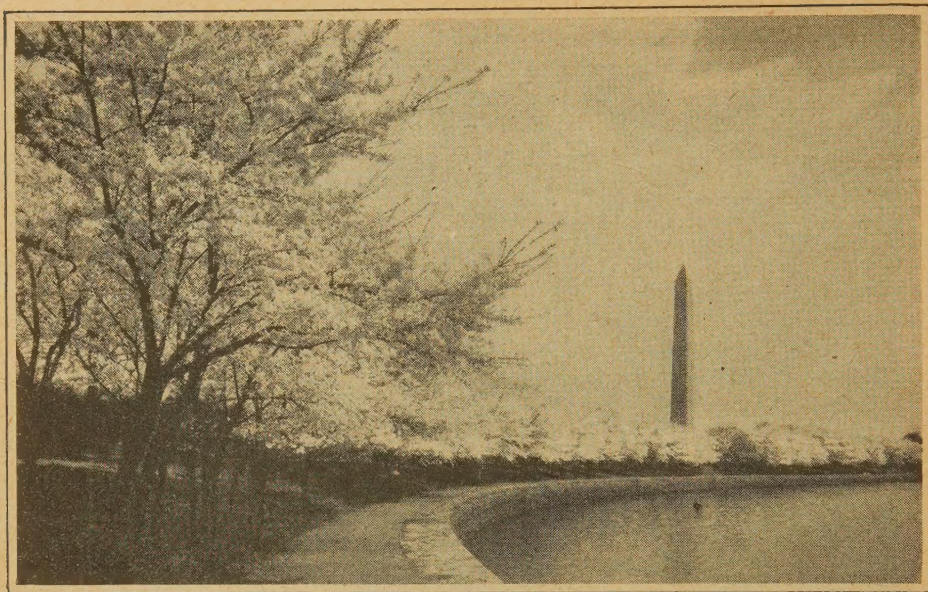
commerce was never realized, for ocean boats grew too big for the shallow Potomac. But the early real estate speculators, who lost fortunes here furiously buying lands to sell to the 150,000 who would be here in ten years, have been amply revenged by their successors, against whom Mr. Jusserand warned us. Here of all places the real estate speculator—to give him his new dignity, I should say the realtor—is found at his fiercest. Real estate is Washington's one industry. True to its origins, Washington is still a boom town. The smokestack is rare and unpretentious. No great trading, except in votes, is done here, and this has had its effect—not an entirely happy one—upon the town.

L'ENFANT'S WORK

Chief among the early dreamers of Washington was Major L'Enfant, a French engineer who came to this country as an officer under D'Estaing and stayed on after the Revolution to plan the new capital of his adopted country. He must have been a powerful and fiery man who wrote the impress of his per-

sonality upon the city so firmly that not even the gentlemen who are avenging the early real estate speculators with cubical piles of bricks, as M. Jusserand calls them, have ever been able to efface him. You walk a few blocks along an undistinguished street, and suddenly, at a green square or circle or triangle, there opens before you a noble avenue, starting off at an unexpected angle and seeming to run straight away to the promised land, but actually to some outskirts, where, as a result of the war, new houses have sprung up like mushrooms. The green square, circle or triangle, the noble avenue running out toward the promised land, is L'Enfant; the statue in the green square or circle or triangle is not. Neither is the deposit of houses at the end with their misfit roofs threatening to crush the jerry structures underneath the weight of their tiles and their odd little utilitarian chimneys, as undistinguished looking as pug noses.

Still you cannot get away from L'Enfant. I delight to think of the mighty passion of the man that smote the landscape here so indelibly. They tell a



Harris & Ewing

Cherry trees in blossom along the Tidal Basin, Washington

story of how, learning that a property owner was building a house athwart one of his visioned avenues, he went with a gang of men and furiously tore down the structure. More power to him, I say. He haunts Washington like a dictatorial ghost. Indeed, he haunted Washington like a ghost in his lifetime, for Jefferson, the Democrat, could not stand L'Enfant, the autocrat, and dismissed him. He then hung about Washington, pressing his claims for compensation on the deaf ears of Congress, the first of a long line of Capitol ghosts, less potent than his, pressing their claims, or trying to stir the imagination of Congress with some great idea that possesses them. And there are other ghosts, too, the Senators and Representatives whom the mutations of politics have robbed of their excuse for being at the capital, but who cannot exist in any other atmosphere and fill the rabbit warrens of office buildings, "practising" before the departments. These are the shades of Washington; no picture of it is complete which leaves them out.

When we have the vision of lifting the

Government up by sheer beauty and dignity so that it will not be submerged by the "cubical piles of brick," so that it will stand out as it did when the favorite hotel I have spoken of was perhaps the leading hotel, we go back to L'Enfant's plans, his group of magnificent buildings on the Mall. We would then remove the rookeries from the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue and build that region worthily, not, perhaps, with the idea of saving rent, but with the almost religious faith that this is a capital of the greatest nation since Rome. We need more than L'Enfant's vision. We need also the vision that will come when the present pedestrian mood is past

L'Enfant came from a land where cities grew and were beautiful because they grew where streets followed their natural impulses and vistas opened and closed and were beautiful because they opened and closed. He was in a land where cities were laid out and where there was every danger of stern rectangularity. He had the sense to see that we were the first great rectangular peo-

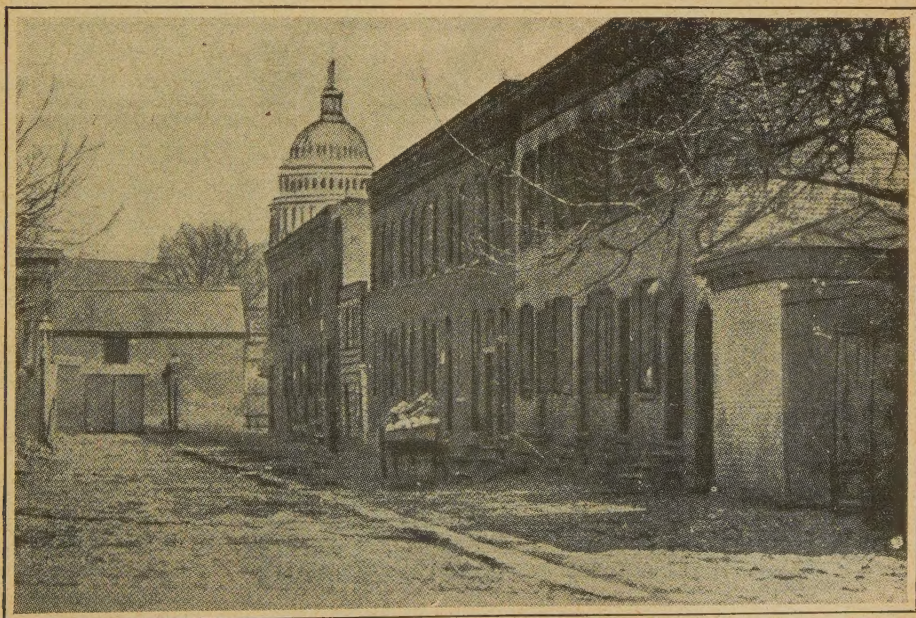
ple in the world. It was amazing in a foreigner. So he gave us a rectangular city, and then, so that we should not always walk along the street like a horse in blinders, with nowhere to look but ahead, he laid out a radial city on top of his gridiron city, with avenues like beams of a star thrusting out from the open spaces that he sprinkled about profusely, cutting across the rectangular streets unexpectedly and relieving them of monotony.

HAPHAZARD BUILDING

It is the Government's own fault that it is in danger of being submerged by commercial Washington. Government building has been haphazard. As departments have outgrown their old quarters, new structures have been slapped down here and there, without regard to total effect and often undistinguishable from the commercial office buildings. The Interior Building is thus lost and is not a great loss at that. With the War Risk Building, which is a dull structure, the Government gave the hint that Lafayette Square (opposite the White

House), which came as near to having an Old World flavor as anything that was central in Washington and which furnished a fine setting for the White House, was not to be regarded as inviolate. There followed quickly a concrete building on the western side of the park, next to the old Decatur house, which could not be surpassed as an example of cheapness and ugliness. It is just something to house typewriter desks.

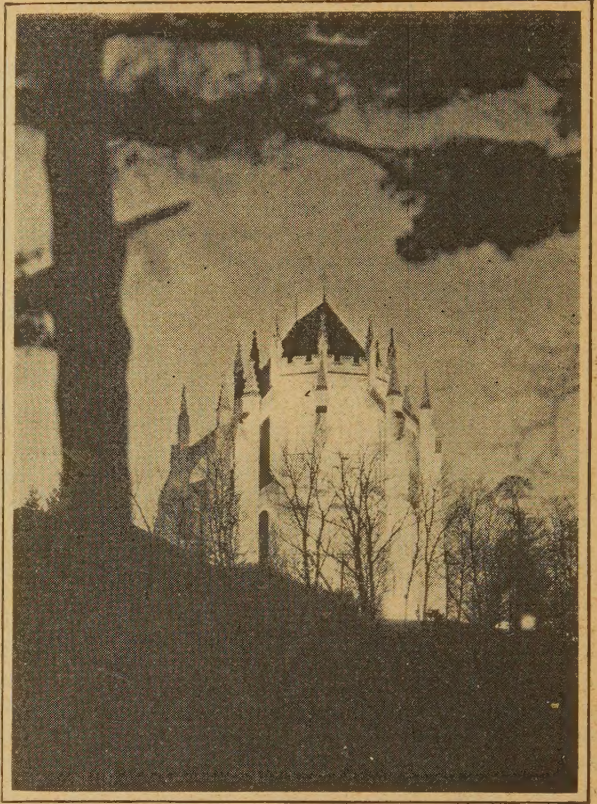
Then the fine old Corcoran house, opposite the White House, went to make way for one of the numerous temples of the lobby that are going up in the capital. It is fair to say that the lobby with its temples is no longer the secret thing it was once, but has taken on an honorable advisory relation to the Government. It is the nexus between business and legislation and between business and administration. It has acquired a status along with its temples. And the Greek temple which the United States Chamber of Commerce put up in place of the Corcoran house is well intentioned, but like most well-



A Washington slum within sight of the Capitol: Louse Alley, near 4½ Street and Maryland Avenue, S. W.

intentioned things uninspired. Still, it is better, much better, than the barn with which the Government began the destruction of this old square, the War Risk Building. Next we hear that the John Hay house, near the old Corcoran house, a worthy house by a distinguished American architect, Richardson, has been sold to a Washington real estate promoter. If I were to name three men who have made Washington what it is, I should list L'Enfant, who rather successfully defied us to do our worst, and "Boss" Shepherd, who by sheer force of will converted the capital from a muddy village to a modern city, and the buyer of the John Hay dwelling, who found Washington a town of boarding houses and converted it into a town of apartment houses, not always discreetly, but I am compelled to say that the Government set him no good example.

Washington is a town



A view by night of the National Cathedral, Washington, D. C.



Ewing Galloway

George Washington's headquarters when he was surveying the country around Georgetown

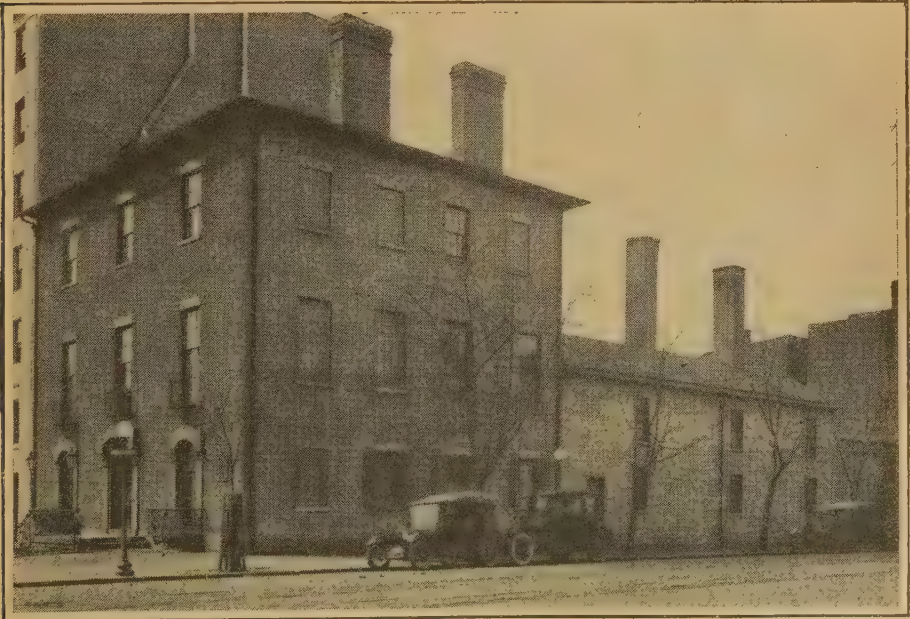
where the Government example is powerful. That Greek temple which the United States Chamber of Commerce erected in a chastened spirit, looking over at the White House, is a late instance of the power of Government example. In the old days of the Webster and Hayne debate distinguished Senators would have among the clerks for whom they secured jobs in the State Department and elsewhere

men who would look up Latin quotations for them, with which to give authority and dignity to their orations. In those days the Government used Ionic, Doric and Corinthian columns liberally when it laid stones together. So when the Riggs Bank, started by the Corcorans, who lived in the Corcoran House and gave the Corcoran Art Gallery to Washington, housed itself, it did so in a Greek temple. And when Keith's Theatre, which President Wilson loved so well, sought a roof tree, it did so amid the dignity of Greek columns. And even when a real estate agent builds an office up Connecticut Avenue, which is trying to be the Fifth Avenue of Washington, the street of smart shops, especially of women's wear, he must needs put himself up a Greek temple, for all the world like a senior society house on the Yale campus. But when the Government took to erecting buildings like those Mr. Babbitt constructs to house his office force, well, Mr. Babbitt built good enough Greek for them, too.

I am not pleading for Greek style in

architecture. I am merely trying to say that Washington has become commercialized in appearance, and that the Government with little vision has assisted in the progress and that commerce here has not the force to thrust upward and give the power, individuality, grandiosity and sometimes beauty that it has given to other American cities. The dream that Alexandria, once a part of Washington, but afterward receded to Virginia, and Georgetown, an old Potomac port, still a part of Washington, would rival Baltimore as shipping centres, has never been realized. Commerce here is a small-town affair in a large city. The Government must make Washington.

The capital has little to say about its own destiny. Nobody votes here, to keep the city, I suppose, as it has been called, "the Virgin Capital." It used to have a Mayor and Council. But "Boss" Shepherd did away with that form of government and gave it probably the first commission Government in the country. The Commissioners are ap-



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The old Decatur mansion, at the corner of Jackson Place and H Street, facing Lafayette Square. Built by Stephen Decatur, the house subsequently was occupied by Baron Tuiyl, the Russian Minister; Henry Clay, Van Buren, Edward Livingston, Sir Charles Vaughan and Baron Hyde of Neuville



Harris & Ewing

The last of the temporary buildings erected in Washington for the purposes of the World War

pointed by the President. Congress appropriates part of the city's means of living. Washington is thus the stepchild of Congress, which is sometimes generous and sometimes niggardly. Just now it is niggardly, with the result that lands within the city, like the Klinge Road valley and hills, which should have been added to the wonderful Rock Creek Park, once wooded and shot through with a brook, now look like Verdun when I saw it after the armistice. They are being improved for residence purposes.

Still, when everything has been said of the carelessness, the neglect, the lack of imagination, the timidity which often characterizes the Government in its relations to the capital, and of the poverty of the commercial spirit which has failed to achieve the outward forms of beauty and power here that it has worked in other cities, where it has more fully expressed itself, there remains the lure of Washington. Partly it is the physical charm which the invincible spirit of L'Enfant imparted to the city in the beginning and partly it is the fascination that living at the centre of a nation's political life always exercises on men and on women. Dull as

this present "era of good feeling" is, there is now, as always, a suppressed excitement about the capital. There is a whisper of great events if your ears are trained to catch it, and here is a little world of strained ears. Men rise and fall here more precipitously than elsewhere, and it is a great pleasure to see them rise—and especially to see them fall. You may have it in your blood to watch the stock ticker and then you go to downtown New York. You may have it in your blood to listen to the whispers of the political ticker and then you come to Washington. The appeal of the place is to a special taste, a special temperament. If you are of the cocked-ear breed and love the gossip, chatter, false rumors, personalities, of a capital and can exist for a month on the first dim intimation of the truth that occasionally reaches you, you would die elsewhere, once having drawn your breath in this city.

Two other things fascinate in Washington; one is society here and the other is a sort of Old World leisureliness, for Washington is a retreat, an escape from the bustle, madness, pressure of life in other parts of the country. You are great when you arrive in Washington

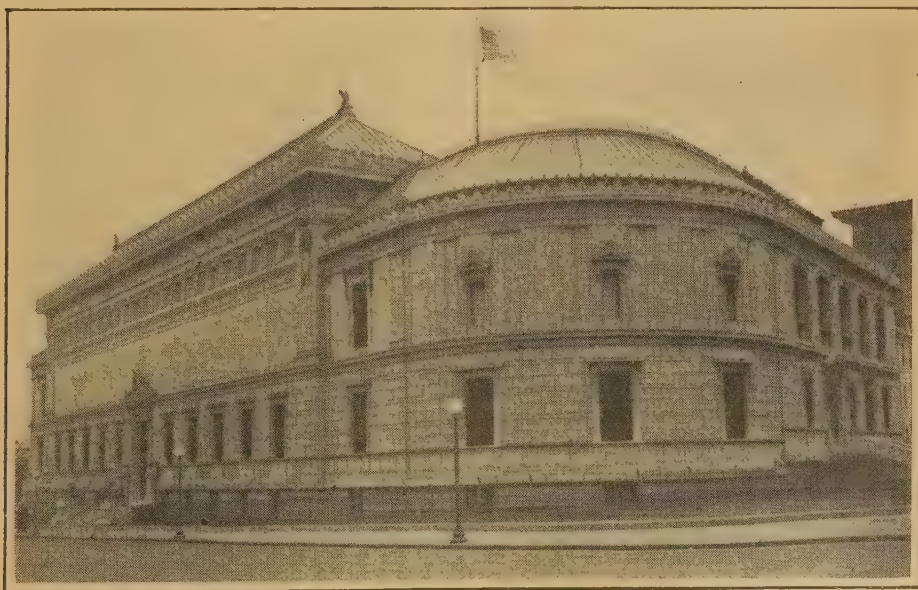
and striving is in a sense at an end. The Presidency hangs just out of reach, but the worst thing you can do is to stand on tiptoes trying to grab it. And the advantages of a caste system take the strain off everything but your ears. A Cabinet officer's wife sits just here and a Senator's wife just here, and yonder is the appointed place for a Representative's wife, if she has any at all.

Washington is a Southern town with a certain Southern indolence about it. Service in the shops is slow. It is too hot in Summer for any one to work hard. Economic opportunities are few. Only the realtors are fierce. So everything, the freedom from the mad rush of business, the stratification of political society, the very geography of the place, dropped down in a low-lying, sun-sought valley, where Springs and Autumns are soft and lovely, where every one is persuaded that Winters are mild, though they are not, and where the Summers, once you are adjusted to the slow movements of this retreat, are bearable—everything conspires to make this a town where you can escape from America when you have had too much of it. There are few such places—Los An-

geles, I suppose, and Florida in the Winter, and Washington all the year round except during the Summer. If nature had only supplied waters here, this would be one of the places to come and slowly eliminate the waste products of overexertion.

THE CITY'S LURE

If you would realize the lure of Washington, consider the Cabinet. What is it that tempts those of its members who stay on? Love of power, perhaps, the opportunities for publicity, society in Washington, the sense of escape from the over strenuous life at home, all these things, probably. I have seen strong men, at least Senators, weep when the mutations of politics have finished their hour in Washington. I have seen more men broken by an adverse majority at the polls than by the loss of a fortune. The loss of a fortune is never final, while the loss of a seat in the Senate generally is. Wives are broken-hearted over the glory that is gone, for society here is generous to Mr. Babbitt become Senator Babbitt, especially if he is a Republican. There are sets for every one. Any one with a tongue in



Ewing Galloway

The Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.

his head and a sufficiently good excuse for being here in Washington can find his place in one of them, the diplomatic set, the Senatorial set, the mildly intellectual set, which is cautiously hospitable even to the mild radicals.

Much of it is doubtless dull, for life is made up of dull things. But there is always the gamble, the chance of one of those liting periods in the national life, like the reign of Roosevelt, the amazing days of the great war under Wilson, when everybody who was anybody was in Washington; the Disarmament Conference; the fury of last Winter's investigations; the possibility of them makes Washington always a place of suppressed excitement.

Yet I think of Washington always as something apart from the rest of America, something factitious as it was in the beginning, a vision plotted out with a pair of compasses and never fully realized. The taste for life here will always be caviar to the general. Those who love it are men like Senator Borah, who could hardly exist elsewhere than in the United States Senate; or, to go over to the other sex, women like Mrs. Alice Longworth and Mrs. Borden Harriman, to whom it is breath in the nostrils. Sometimes the spirit of Washington is vulgar, as it was in the worst days before the investigations cleared the atmosphere. Sometimes it is brilliant, as in the great days of Roosevelt. Sometimes it is lofty, as in the days of Wilson. It takes its tone from the Administration. But beneath is something fine and exuberant, the consciousness of a great destiny.

Washington has never been, even for a moment, the literary capital of America. It bows to Chicago, to Indiana, to New York, or where you will. There is too much fiction about Washington itself for fiction to thrive here. No one takes root here. I believe that Sinclair Lewis wrote his masterpiece "Main

Street" in Washington. The story ends here, and that is the poorest part of the book. Publishers come here trying to drum up a novel of Washington life. But the base of fiction is reality and the base of reality here is fiction. Ferguson tried it in his book "On Capitol Hill." The facts that he accumulated left no room for his imagination. Critics of politics like Frank H. Simonds, who wrote a history of the great war, and William Hard, make their homes here. Writing of this kind from Washington is greatly improved since the war. The intellectuals live in Georgetown, the old Potomac port to which farmers used to haul their products from Western Maryland and even from Pennsylvania before the capital was thought of. The old Southern houses there have been mostly bought by lovers of good building, structures built to be lived in, with splendid rooms inside, having an external dignity and proportion, much as a face takes on beauty from the spirit within.

The most solid part of the intellectual life of Washington is scientific. The experts of the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Reserve Board, the Department of Commerce, the Smithsonian Institution and of the hospitals for the insane—in these last the best work in psychoanalysis in America is done—number among their members some of the great scientists in the land. Of them I speak with diffidence, being no scientist myself. And they are rather submerged, as experts usually are. In that sometimes brilliant circle which we call Washington they cut little figure, for the Government is not a generous employer.

For the moment we have turned our back upon imagination at the national capital, as we turned our back upon idealism after the war. We have gone drastically back to first principles. Probably it was inevitable, but equally inevitable is the great day that lies just beyond.

The American Political Revolution of 1924

By HUGH L. KEENLEYSIDE

Professor of History, Syracuse University

THE definitive results of the election of Nov. 4, 1924, are now embodied in official reports. They show that the campaign which ended in the re-election of President Coolidge was in no way a remarkable one, except for the existence of a third party which made a substantial showing. Otherwise the political scene was very much as usual: mechanically organized parades and ovations, imbecilic oratory, "slush fund" charges, a comparative lack of well-defined issues, *and general apathy and detachment on the part of a large percentage of the citizens.* The Republican campaign was excellently managed, both politically and financially; the Democrats lost their real opportunity in the animosities of the July convention; La Follette's potency was destroyed by the accusation of radicalism, by the lack of funds and by the unpopularity of his issues of Government ownership and the Supreme Court.

There were eight candidates in the presidential race of 1924. President Coolidge provided in his personality—whether real or manufactured—the chief asset in the Republican campaign; and this in spite of his undistinguished record as Vice President. It was a personal victory, based on a most extraordinary press support. John W. Davis, intellectually one of the most eminent candidates who ever aspired to the White House, was unable to unite and revitalize a disorganized and faction-ridden Democracy. Senator Robert M. La Follette, an old school Western Radical (his ideas are essentially those of the Populist Party of 1890), of high personal character and no little ability, did not appeal to the South or the East and

was finally deserted even by the Granger States. He failed to organize either the Farmer or the Labor vote. The minor candidates and parties were Herman P. Faris, Prohibition; Frank T. Johns, Socialist-Labor; Judge Gilbert O. Nations, American Party; William J. Wallace, Commonwealth Land Party (Single Tax), and W. Z. Foster, Workers' Party. The candidates are listed in the order of their voting strength.

LACK OF PUBLIC INTEREST

The lack of popular interest in national campaigns has been a peculiar, and progressively increasing, characteristic of American political life. In some groups this fact has caused anxiety as well as curiosity. The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment extended the franchise to more than 25,000,000 politically inexperienced and in many cases uninterested women. This has resulted in an increased discrepancy between the number of eligible and the number of active voters. In 1920, when less than half the eligible voters actually appeared at the polls, the cry of "minority government" gave further cause for serious consideration. In the election of that year, only 26,711,183 votes were cast out of a possible 54,165,000—a voting percentage of 49.3. To some persons the success or failure of American democracy appeared to be involved in this situation.

As a result of this condition, the election of 1924 saw a determined effort made by a number of partisan and non-partisan organizations to impress upon all eligible voters the duty, as well as the privilege, embodied in the franchise. For this purpose the National Get-

Out-the-Vote League was founded and united in its campaign the American Legion, the National Association of Manufacturers, the various fraternal organizations, the so-called service clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, and so forth), the National League of Women Voters and State and local committees of varied constitution. On the basis of early returns, officials of many of these organizations issued jubilant statements proclaiming the success of their endeavors. As the official results are tabulated, however, the validity of these claims must be seriously questioned. The election of 1920 was a notoriously dull campaign, and yet the record for 1924, even with the interest created by the third party and the possibility of a Congressional election of the President, raised the percentage of participation less than 2 per cent. Here is little room for jubilation, and the insignificance of the increase becomes even more apparent in the light of the following figures:

ELECTION YEAR.	NUMBER OF ELIGIBLES FAILING TO VOTE.	PER- CENTAGE VOTING.
1896.....	2,800,000	82.8
1900.....	5,100,000	77.
1904.....	6,600,000	67.6
1908.....	7,200,000	67.
1912.....	8,800,000	62.8
1916.....	6,900,000	70.5
1920.....	27,454,000	49.3
1924.....	27,819,517	51.1

The condition of a progressively declining participation in government which the above figures portray is undoubtedly a serious one. The real value of the democratic form of government is to be found in its educative effect. Obviously, then, much of the value of American democracy is lost when only 50 per cent. of the citizens partake of its functions. But it is very clear that merely preaching the duty of voting will not have the desired result. This abstract sense of duty needs to be vitalized by a realization of the practical economic benefits to be derived from intelligent voting. The majority of Americans do not yet understand the economic basis of politics or the desirability of

voting in accordance with economic needs.

It is a commonplace among political scientists that the two great parties in the United States since 1876, and especially since 1896, have been drawing closer together in doctrine, in practice and in theory. This is the real basis for the lack of interest in national politics. American political life needs a logical division of parties based on economic, geographic and occupational necessities. Such a division will tend to produce an interested, informed and active citizenry. Under present conditions the attempt to "get out the vote" is essentially a useless task.

It should be added that a mere increase in the number of voters is not in itself of major importance. To be of real value it should be accompanied by an increase of *intelligent voting*. The voters need education to such a point that they will no longer be satisfied with the almost complete evasion of all essential issues which has become so characteristic of modern American politics.

The total number of votes cast in the Presidential campaign of 1924 was 29,105,833. Of this total Coolidge received 15,729,060, Davis 8,391,431, La Follette 4,820,758 and there was a scattered vote of 164,634. The number of persons eligible to vote was 56,925,000.¹ That is to say, 51.1 per cent. of the eligible voters actually cast their ballots.

The effect of interest on the activity of the voters becomes even more apparent when the sectional division of this vote is examined. The average percentage of eligible voters that actually voted was:

In the Middle Western States.....	64.8
In the Mountain States.....	63.1
In the New England States.....	59.2
In the Pacific Coast States.....	57.3
In the Middle Atlantic States.....	53.2
In the Southern States.....	27.8

¹The total of 56,925,000 persons eligible to vote in the election of 1924 was composed of the following elements (the figures given are approximate):

Those who voted in 1920, less the natural death rate.....	24,025,000
Those who failed to vote in 1920, less the natural death rate.....	25,670,000
Persons naturalized, 1920-1924.....	520,000
Persons newly of age.....	6,710,000

These figures show that in the Middle West and Mountain States, where the La Follette campaign was most noisy and active, the greatest interest was aroused and the greatest vote polled. New England, with the first chance in a generation to place a local celebrity in the White House, also was above the average. On the other hand, the solid South, with the election already decided, did not bother to vote,² and even the Middle Atlantic States were not particularly interested. (Here the large foreign-born population also had some effect.)

The same principle will be found at work when an examination is made of records of the individual States. The five highest States in percentage of participation were West Virginia 76.8, Indiana 72.3, Utah 71, Wyoming 70.5 and New Hampshire 69.7. Apart from the fact that there is found in these States a great preponderance of native stock, it is also to be considered that West Virginia was voting for or against a native son in a bitter and close election; that Indiana was one of the few Democratic hopes in the West, and that the Ku Klux Klan complicated and vitalized the issue there; that Utah and Wyoming were open fields for any one of the three major candidates, and that New Hampshire was witnessing a bitter Gubernatorial battle, as well as voting to keep a canny New Englander in Washington. As was to have been expected, the States showing the lowest percentage of participation were found in the South. They were South Carolina 6.3, Georgia 11.3, Mississippi 12.8, Louisiana 13.1 and Alabama 14.3.

As compared with the percentage of active voters in the election of 1920, twenty-six States increased their participation, while twenty-one decreased and one remained constant. The most significant increase came on the Pacific Coast, where Washington, Oregon and California increased their average from

50.4 per cent. to 57.3 per cent. New England increased 3.9 per cent., the Middle West 3.4 per cent. and the Mountain States 2.7 per cent. The Middle Atlantic States decreased .6 per cent. and the Southern States decreased 3.2 per cent. Among the individual States the most notable advances were made by Wyoming 19.1 per cent., California 10 per cent., Nebraska, Oregon, Kansas and Pennsylvania 9 per cent. and Wisconsin 7 per cent. The advance in Pennsylvania is explained by the fact that the Republicans in that State had perhaps the most efficient organization in the history of their party.

The following States showed the most marked decrease: Tennessee 12 per cent., Arizona 11 per cent., Kentucky 9 per cent., Alabama and North Carolina 7 per cent., Virginia, Delaware and Arkansas 6 per cent.

There can be no question that the increased percentage of active voters in the Middle and Far West was produced by La Follette's candidacy; and apparently most of the increase went to him, although it enabled him to win only one State. As the formation and campaign of the Progressive Party were the unique features of the recent campaign, it is advisable at this point to consider their effects.

THE LA FOLLETTE CAMPAIGN

There immediately arises the question as to which of his opponents La Follette struck hardest, and the complementary problem as to whence came his support. Answering the last question first, the explanation is as follows:

La Follette's total vote was 4,820,758. The composition of this total can be determined with reasonable accuracy. In 1920 Eugene Debs, as Socialist candidate, received 919,799 votes. It can hardly be an overstatement, then, to credit Senator La Follette with 1,000,000 Socialist votes. The Progressive vote in the Granger States and on the Pacific Coast was 2,957,570. Estimating the Socialist vote in these States at 425,000 (slightly larger than the Debs vote of 1920), Mr. La Follette can

²It should be borne in mind that the real contests in Southern politics take place in the Democratic primaries or nominating conventions. The result of interparty contests is never in doubt and consequently comparatively few persons bother to vote.

be accredited with what may roughly be called an "agrarian" vote of 2,530,000. The railroad brotherhoods added—outside of the Western States—about 200,000. From these three elements, then, the Progressive total was 3,730,000. This leaves a total of approximately 1,100,000 votes to be divided among Eastern and Southern labor, "liberals" of varied type, and the "protest" vote. Obviously the executive of the American Federation of Labor failed to swing the labor vote to its chosen candidate. The railroad brotherhoods almost alone of organized labor remained constant in allegiance. Their support is evidenced by the winning of Cleveland for La Follette. Union labor failed to follow the advice of the late Mr. Gompers in 1924, as it failed to support his endorsement of Mr. Cox in 1920. How much of this desertion was due to direct or indirect intimidation by conservative employers can never be fully known, but it is safe to explain the greater part of it as a result of the lack of class solidarity on the part of American labor.

It is possible also to judge the effect of the Progressive vote on the two major parties with some assurance. In the election of 1920 the following results were obtained:

CANDIDATE	PER CENT. OF TOTAL VOTE
Harding	60.2
Cox	34.4
Debs and others.....	5.4

The corresponding results in 1924 were:

Coolidge	54.0
Davis	28.8
La Follette.....	16.5
Others .....	.7

It would thus seem that as a result of the Progressive campaign the Republicans suffered a decrease of 6.2 per cent., the Democrats a decrease of 5.6 per cent. and the scattered protest vote of 4.7 per cent. The figures are for the country as a whole. It is of interest to compare the figures for 1920 and 1924 in the various sections of the country. For the election of 1920 the percentages were as follows:

STATES	REP.	DEM.	OTHERS
Pacific Coast.....	63.3	25.2	11.2
Mountain	61.4	35.1	3.5
New England.....	66.1	29.1	4.8
Middle Western....	65.1	29.2	5.7
Middle Atlantic ...	60.5	33.6	5.9
Southern	40.3	55.3	4.4

In 1924 the percentages were changed with the following result:

STATES	REP.	DEM.	OTHERS.	LA FOL- LETTE
Pacific Coast.....	55.2	10.8	1.5	32.5
Mountain	50.4	21.4	..	28.2
New England.....	63.2	26.4	.6	9.8
Middle Western....	55.6	23.2	.6	20.6
Middle Atlantic...	56.9	29.2	.7	13.2
Southern	34.4	59.1	1.0	5.5

These percentages clearly indicate that La Follette decreased the Republican vote by 8.4 per cent. in the Pacific Coast States, 11 per cent. in the Mountain States, 2.9 per cent. in New England, 9.5 per cent. in the Middle West, 3.6 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic States and 5.9 per cent. in the South. Similarly he decreased the Democratic vote by 14.4 per cent. on the Pacific Coast, 14.7 per cent. in the Mountain States, 2.7 per cent. in New England, 6 per cent. in the Middle West and 4.4 per cent. on the Atlantic seaboard. In the South the Democratic percentage increased. In other words, the Democratic Party was injured more than the Republican on the Pacific Coast, in the Mountains and in the Atlantic States. The Republicans suffered most in the Middle Western States, in the South and in New England.

From the standpoint of electoral votes, the Progressives appear to have injured the Democrats more than they injured the Republicans. The fear of throwing the election of the President into Congress was perhaps the most potent factor in swelling the Republican vote. President Coolidge was a minority victor in thirteen States (Arizona, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and West Virginia). It is probable that at least five of these States would have been won by Mr. Davis in a

straight Republican-Democratic contest. Mr. Davis was a minority victor in only one State (Oklahoma).

The Progressive vote was rather more evenly distributed than is generally supposed. Mr. La Follette received 16.8 per cent. of his votes in the Pacific Coast and Mountain States, 29.1 per cent. on the Middle Atlantic Coast, 45.4 per cent. in the Middle West, 4.5 per cent. in New England and 4.2 per cent. in the South. Bearing in mind the relative size of the sections, this is a fairly even distribution, except for New England and the Solid South.

THE FINAL RESULTS

President Coolidge received his vote as follows: 9.9 per cent. in the Pacific Coast and Mountain States, 37.4 per cent. on the Middle Atlantic Coast, 36.6 per cent. in the Middle West, 8.8 per cent. in New England and 7.3 per cent. in the South. Mr. Davis's vote was divided thus: 4.9 per cent. in the Pacific Coast and Mountain States, 35.8 per cent. on the Middle Atlantic Coast, 28.9 per cent. in the Middle West, 6.8 per cent. in New England and 23.6 per cent. in the South. Excluding the solid South,³ the popular vote for the three major candidates was: Coolidge, 14,576,810; Davis, 6,410,104; La Follette, 4,624,648.

Excluding New England also, the result is: Coolidge, 13,184,213; Davis, 5,827,194; La Follette, 4,407,056.

Senator La Follette ran first in one State (Wisconsin, where he polled more votes than his combined opponents). He defeated Mr. Davis in eleven States (California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Minne-

sota), but ran second to President Coolidge in each.

In the Electoral College President Coolidge won thirty-five States and a vote of 382; Mr. Davis won twelve States and 136 votes; Mr. La Follette, one State and 13 votes. By actual majority vote Coolidge won twenty-two States with 296 votes (only 266 are necessary for election), and his opponents polled a majority in twenty-six States with 235 votes.

The fear of a Congressional election of the President, which characterized the recent campaign, has drawn attention to the archaic methods employed in choosing the Chief Magistrate. It is especially to be hoped that the useless and expensive Electoral College will be abolished. A constitutional amendment with this end in view is now before Congress.

In the new Congress the parties will appear as follows:

SENATE	HOUSE
Republicans 50	Republicans 232
Democrats 40	Democrats 183
Farmer-Labor 1	Farmer-Labor 3
La Follette Repub-	Socialist 2
licans 5	La Follette Repub-
	licans 15

This alignment shows a shrinkage in both Democratic and Progressive ranks. The American Federation of Labor, which checks very closely the social attitudes of Congressional candidates, admits a net loss of two pro-labor Senators and fifteen pro-labor Representatives. If Senator Brookhart should be unseated the Senate loss would be three. The federation endorsed twenty-three candidates for the Senate, of whom fourteen were elected. Of 284 endorsed for the House, 179 were successful. The Democratic Party sustained a net loss of two Senators and twenty-four Representatives. The Farmer-Labor Party lost one Senator, but gained two members in the House. The regular Republicans gained fifteen members in the House and three Senators.

An examination of the first list of figures given in this article will reveal a

³The belief is rather widely held that with the increase of industrialization the Republican Party is gradually growing stronger, both absolutely and comparatively, in the Solid South. A comparison of the results of 1920 and 1924 does not bear this out. In 1924 the Democratic Party polled 95 per cent. of the total number of votes which they received in 1920. The Republican Party polled only 87 per cent. of its 1920 total. The Republicans and Progressives together received 2 per cent. less votes in 1924 than did the Republicans alone in 1920. Both positively and comparatively the Republican strength declined. The Republican vote decreased in every Southern State except New Mexico.

very great decrease in the percentage of actual voters in 1920. This decrease is largely accounted for by the failure of the newly enfranchised women to make use of their hard-won privilege.

THE WOMEN'S VOTE

In 1920 Illinois was the only State to distinguish between the sexes in recording its vote. Even Illinois has now ceased to make a separate tabulation, which adds measurably to the difficulty of making accurate statements in regard to woman's use of the ballot. It is only by examining the Illinois figures for 1920, the registration of women in 1924 and the records of previous (male) elections that any sound indication of feminine activity can be gained.

The total number of persons eligible to vote in the Presidential election of 1920 was 54,165,907. Of these, 27,245,000 were men and 26,920,000 were women. The number of votes cast was 26,711,183. In the four national elections preceding that of 1920 the male voters had an average percentage of participation of 67. If, then, in 1920, 67 per cent. of the eligible men had voted, the male vote for that year would have been 17,254,150. That would leave 9,457,033 votes attributable to the women. Expressed otherwise:

17,254,150 men (67%)	voted out
	of a possible.....27,245,000
9,457,033 women (35.1%)	voted out
	of a possible.....26,920,000
<hr/>	
26,711,183 persons (49.3%)	voted out
	of a possible.....54,165,000

Thus, if it is granted that an average number of men voted in the election of 1920, it becomes apparent that only 35.1 per cent. of the eligible women actually took part. That this figure is not unreasonable becomes further apparent in view of the following facts: (1) In Illinois (the only State to separate the vote on sex lines), 74.1 per cent. of the eligible men voted, and 46.5 per cent. of the women; (2) The vote in Illinois invariably averages higher than the vote in the nation as a whole (60 per cent. to 49.3 per cent. in 1920); (3)

The well-authenticated fact that in certain States—particularly in the South—the women practically ignored the election.⁴ It is possible to state, therefore, that though 35.1 per cent. cannot be tabulated as an exact statement of the degree of feminine participation in 1920, it is a reasonable deduction and measurably correct.

Applying this same test to the election of 1924, it is found that approximately 19,253,000 men voted and 9,852,883 women. This is a positive increase of 1,998,850 men and 395,700 women, over the 1920 figures. Granted that the average percentage of men took part, only 35.3 per cent. of the women participated. This is an increase of just .2 per cent. over the figure for 1920.

Unfortunately Illinois no longer differentiates between votes cast by men and those cast by women. Another check can be found, however, in the registration figures for New York. In New York the registration figures for women were, in 1924, 56.8 per cent. of those for men. The national women's vote, as here estimated, was 49.6 per cent. of the national men's vote. Taking into consideration the fact that New York is one of the most advanced States of the Union, that here if anywhere women would be likely to vote, and that the percentage of active voters in New York in 1924 was higher than the percentage for the nation (60 per cent. to 51.5 per cent.) by 8.5 per cent., which is almost the identical difference between the New York female registration and the estimated national feminine vote; 35.3 per cent. would seem to be a reasonably accurate interpretation of feminine activity in the nation as a whole.

Many explanations are given for the small degree of feminine participation in State affairs. Lack of a political tradition, the interference of home duties, lack of a direct and personal interest in the result of elections, unpleasant conditions at many polling sta-

⁴In this respect, as in many others, the South is out of tune with Northern and Western ideals. Southern women, speaking broadly, did not desire the vote and consider it both undignified and unnecessary to use it.

tions and sentimental objections, or objections based on opposition to the principle of woman's suffrage, are all important in this regard.

The question as to how women vote, what causes or principles they tend to support, cannot be answered with precision. What evidence is available, however, from local elections, prohibition campaigns and the like, all tends to support the belief that American women generally espouse the conservative and the "moral" forces on any given issue.⁵ This fact will undoubtedly add to the difficulty of organizing a powerful liberal party in America, and will accentuate the normal control heretofore exercised by the conservative Republican Party.

WOMEN ELECTED TO OFFICE

One last phase of feminine participation needs to be mentioned. More women were elected to offices of State and nation in 1924 than at any previous time in American history. One hundred and twenty-seven candidates were successful in the contests of November, 1924. The offices to which they were elevated are to be found in the following table:

	NO DESIG-				
	REP.	DEM.	F.-L.	NATION	TOT.
Governors	2	..	..	..	2
Congresswomen....	1	..	..	..	1
State Senators....	7	2	..	..	9
Secretaries of					
State	1	..	..	..	1
State Representa-					
tives	85	21	1	7	114
Total.....	93	26	1	7	127

The extent of this list opens a field of interesting speculation as to future developments.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S DECLINE

In the light of the preceding analysis, it may now be stated that the national election of 1924 was character-

ized by: (1) the largest number of votes ever cast in a single election in the history of the world; (2) a slight increase over 1920 in the percentage of eligible voters who exercised their franchise; (3) an increase, both positively and comparatively, in the number of women voters; (4) an extremely light vote in the South and an increase in the agricultural States of the West; (5) the triumph of conservatism; (6) the formation of a new Progressive Party, and (7) the continued retrogression, in the national field, of the Democratic Party.

The last two statements deserve further consideration, for they are undoubtedly the most significant results of the late campaign. If it is true that the election of 1924 is simply another step in the decadence of a once vigorous party, it can only mean one of two things. Either the Democratic Party is dying to make way for another strong national party or else the United States has at last succumbed to the "bloc" system of representative government. A view of the party history of this country since the election of 1896 gives irrefutable proof of the progressively more hopeless situation of the present Democratic Party, and even a cursory study of its present component parts will end any hope for its resurrection and re-establishment as a virile national force.

The year 1896 is chosen because it marks the introduction of the modern era in American political history. The American scene was characterized, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, by the passing of the frontier and its promise of free land, by the beginning of economic imperialism, by the great increase in that South European emigration to the United States which recent laws have sought to stem, by the enormous development of financial organization which has reacted so definitely upon the political system, and, in spite of free silver and Bryanism, this decade saw the beginning of that progressive unification (so far as principle is concerned) of the two major political parties. This complex of forces

⁵The existence of this tendency is asserted and supported in an article by Professors Willing and Rice, in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* for December, 1924.

has produced the modern United States, and in this modern society the Democratic Party has been gradually forced into the background. The following statistics will justify this assertion:

ELECTION	TOTAL VOTES	REP. PER CENT.	DEM. PER CENT.	OTHERS PER CENT.
1896.....	13,826,012	51.0	46.8	2.2
1900.....	13,971,275	52.8	45.9	2.3
1904.....	13,534,289	56.8	38.0	5.2
1908.....	14,877,133	52.0	43.3	4.7
1912.....	15,031,169	{ 23.5 } { 27.8 }	51.3 ⁶	45.2 3.5
1916.....	18,528,743	46.2	49.4	4.4
1920.....	26,711,183	60.2	34.4	5.4
1924.....	29,074,804	54.1	28.7	17.2

These statistics make it clear that since 1896 the Democratic Party has been nationally successful twice, that it has defeated the united Republican Party only once⁷ and that it has never polled 50 per cent. of the votes in any one election. During that period the Republican Party averaged 53 per cent. of the vote and the Democratic Party 41 per cent. On every occasion, except 1916, the Republican Party has polled over 50 per cent. of the votes cast.

In spite of this record, the Democratic Party might still continue, with some hope of success in periods of Republican strife, if it were a united liberal party. The Republican Party has an apparently unbreakable grip on the conservative element of the country outside the solid South. All the rules of political logic, then, demand that the Democratic Party, to continue as a vital element, should organize and express American liberalism. And this the Democratic Party cannot do because of its Southern elements. It is torn by

the strife of irreconcilable forces—the aristocratic ultra-conservative South, the predominantly Catholic, foreign-born, working class elements of the Northeast, and a rapidly diminishing strength among the farmers and proletariat of the Middle and Far West. The strife between these discordant elements is growing more bitter instead of less.

In the face of this record, it must be conceded that the historic Democratic Party can now barely qualify as a national force and that its progressive disintegration is almost assured. What will take its place—another party, national, liberal and united, or a system of blocs?

"BLOC" GOVERNMENT FORESHADOWED

Recognizing as one must the extraordinary power of the two-party tradition in American politics, it must be conceded that the present outlook rather presages bloc government. It may be possible for the liberal elements in the two old parties to unite with organized labor (the *sine qua non* of a liberal movement which hopes to succeed) in a strong national party, but every sign is against it; most particularly the political innocence of the laboring groups. This is, however, the hope of those who organized and supported the Progressive Party of 1924.

The modern United States is now a complex of many and antagonistic groups, and the basis of this division is economic. It would seem probable, then, that this Republic is about to follow the lead of every other mature State and hand over the control of its destinies to a combination of political blocs. These blocs will be based upon the economic needs of their respective geographic or class constituencies. For a country of the size and diversity of the United States no other development can be expected. How this will be accomplished is another problem.

⁶The two sets of figures show the split Republican vote caused by Theodore Roosevelt's secession from the Republican Party.

⁷The election of 1916 was of course a unique phenomenon. The greatly increased vote of that year and the re-election of a Democratic President can only be explained on the basis of a national desire to keep out of the World War. "He kept us out of war" was barely sufficient to carry the election for President Wilson and the Democrats.

New Laws Voted on Nov. 4, 1924

By WILLIAM A. ROBINSON

Department of Political Science, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

INTEREST in the selection of a great number of candidates for office, national, State and local, naturally tended to draw attention from the less spectacular duty of voting at referenda on Nov. 4, 1924, when many million citizens gave decisions on a variety of constitutional amendments and miscellaneous questions. In Massachusetts alone on three propositions more than 900,000 voters expressed opinions. In a few States the contest on referred measures surpassed in interest the contest for office; in others it was a perfunctory matter neglected by all but a small minority.

One of our early jurists defined a Constitution as "the form of government delineated by the mighty hand of the people, in which certain first principles of fundamental law are established." In 1793 this definition was reasonably accurate, but the transition from the simple general outline of government to a confused mixture of fundamental law and statutory material is apparent in recent amendments.

Constitutional amendments usually fall into fairly well-defined classes: those dealing with the framework or processes of government, those regulating taxation or public finance, those defining the powers of various subdivisions of the State and regulating their relations with the State and with each other, and those conferring additional powers on the Legislature and in general broadening the functions of government.

In the first class there were last November few measures of unusual character. Arkansas voted an increase in the size of her Supreme Court and Missouri rejected a similar proposal. Georgia and South Carolina voted to substitute biennial for annual legislative ses-

sions. Massachusetts approved two amendments, one striking the word "male" from the suffrage qualifications and the other making women eligible for any State, county or municipal office. Oregon voted to add to the qualifications of voters ability to read and write the English language. Illinois voted favorably on a more liberal amending process, but there was doubt as to whether the majority was large enough under present constitutional requirements to make the change effective. South Dakota, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire voted against calling constitutional conventions. Colorado refused to give the Legislature power to fix salaries of State officers or to establish the office of State Printer. North Carolina refused a salary increase for legislators. Measures increasing salaries have almost invariably met defeat in recent years, in spite of the fact that salaries in many cases were placed on a constitutional basis at a time when money had a considerably greater purchasing power—an example of the distrust which incorporates in the fundamental law regulations which might better be left to the discretion of representative bodies.

The ever-growing need for revenue has produced a great variety of proposals at every biennial election for the last ten years. Mississippi and Michigan defeated amendments permitting the levy of income taxes. Florida has drawn considerable attention by adopting a clause forbidding taxes on incomes or inheritances. Georgia voted to permit counties and cities to exempt certain new industries from taxation for a period of five years, an interesting evidence of the industrial change pro-

ceeding in that State. Oregon voted to repeal the State Income Tax law. The chief argument in favor of this action was the tendency of industry to leave the State under the existing tax burden. Missouri, Texas and Minnesota voted in favor of a gasoline tax for the construction and upkeep of highways, while a similar measure was rejected in Massachusetts. Kansas rejected an amendment permitting the classification of property for taxing purposes. California voted for a poll tax of \$5 on male citizens between the ages of 21 and 50, exempting war veterans and those already paying a property tax. An initiative statute in Washington, which proposed limiting the aggregate annual levy on real and personal property for general State, county and school district purposes to 40 mills, was decisively beaten, and in North Dakota a measure restricting for three years taxes and expenditures to 75 per cent. of those of 1923 met a similar fate.

The question of taxation has to be faced, in view of the demand for increased public services. The property taxes on which most of our States and local communities rely are inequitable and also near the limit of productiveness. Intangibles often escape any proper share of the burden, and yet the voter in nearly every case has shown disapproval of classification schemes which, while lightening the charge on such property, would return a much greater amount to the public treasury. Clearly, the income tax is not likely to be added to the resources of the tax gatherer. In the last four years twelve such propositions have been rejected and only one approved.

BOND ISSUES

Proposed bond issues had a prominent place on the ballots of 1920 and 1922, but there were few such proposals in 1924. Kentucky rejected a \$75,000,000 issue for highway and educational purposes. Illinois voted \$100,000,000 for highways; New York \$15,000,000 for the State park system. Maryland authorized bond issues for the payment of

adjusted compensations to war veterans. Colorado and Kansas both defeated measures which would have authorized the payment of compensation to veterans of the Spanish and Philippine Wars as well as of the World War. Oregon, however, was more generous and extended the benefits of the present World War veterans' bonus to certain female employes of the War Department and to Spanish War veterans who served ninety days.

In the field of local government amendments were generally of interest only to the localities concerned and a large number were adopted, permitting increases of local indebtedness, authorizing the formation of road, harbor and school districts, or permitting municipalities to assume additional functions. In no case was the cramping effect of constitutional detail more apparent.

Increase in the functions of the State was not much in evidence. Wisconsin and Minnesota adopted amendments permitting further conservation and development of forest resources as well as reforestation under State auspices, but Minnesota refused to permit the ownership and operation by the State of terminal elevators at Minneapolis and Duluth. A bitter fight developed in California on an amendment authorizing the State to develop and distribute electrical energy and water. The voters apparently took alarm at the magnitude of the proposal, for it was decisively beaten. A statutory proposition in Washington, which would have authorized cities and towns to purchase and sell electric current outside their corporate limits and carrying supplementary powers for construction and condemnation, was also defeated. Public ownership apparently did not make a strong appeal to the voter.

A great variety of referred and initiated bills appeared on the ballots. Illinois accepted two banking laws, one of them prohibiting branch banks. Arizona rejected an act regulating horse racing and allowing pari mutuel betting under rules prescribed by a racing commission. California authorized boxing

under the control of a special commission. Massachusetts favored a prohibition enforcement law, the retention of daylight saving and in an advisory referendum decisively expressed disapproval of the proposed Child Labor amendment to the United States Constitution. Oregon and Washington both defeated measures prohibiting the manufacture and sale of certain substitutes for butter and other dairy products. In both States it was argued that such legislation was merely conferring a special privilege on a certain class of producers.

FAULTY SYSTEM

A discussion of the merits of various measures would exceed all reasonable limits and so would a discussion of the inherent merits or defects of the system of popular lawmaking. California had only eighteen propositions on the ballot in 1924, compared with thirty in 1922, but the text and explanatory material filled thirty-one pages of small type in the special publicity pamphlet. The text of the defeated Missouri Compensation law filled an average newspaper page. In some States the text of constitutional amendments and bills was published without any summary to help the voter. On purely technical matters and complicated questions, on which an intelligent public opinion is difficult to form, the voter often decides by a negative vote. On the other hand, there was lively and intelligent debate on questions of general interest. In Massachu-

setts the advisory referendum on the Child Labor amendment led to an enormous amount of discussion. The opinions of certain groups, classes and economic interests on this proposition and the resulting effect on political leaders would constitute a fascinating topic for the study of the psychologist, the economist or political scientist. One measure which has not yet been mentioned deserves special comment. In Washington by initiative bill and in Michigan by constitutional amendment it was proposed to make attendance at the public schools compulsory for all children between the ages of 7 and 16. Oregon enacted a similar measure in 1922, but its execution has been suspended until its constitutionality has been decided by the highest court. No measures could have been better calculated to stir up ill-will because of the effect particularly on the parochial schools of the Roman Catholic Church. In both Washington and Michigan the proposal was defeated.

After a study of the measures of 1924 and recent years, the student of public affairs feels that the effort of reformers should be directed to the restoration of simple Constitutions containing a minimum of statutory matter and as a corollary the establishment of a more efficient and responsible Legislature. "The mighty hand of the people" would not then have been invoked to mark crosses opposite a mass of trivial and unnecessary questions on a ballot already overloaded with the names of candidates for trivial and unnecessary elective offices.



Fixing the Blame for the Opium Evil

By W. H. GRAHAM ASPLAND, M. D.

General Secretary, International Anti-Opium Association, Peking, China

THE momentous sessions of the Second Opium Conference at Geneva, sessions that began on Jan. 19, 1925, and were still continuing at the time this magazine went to press, and which, from the beginning, were replete with crises and dramatic episodes, brought out into the strongest relief, if they did nothing else, the gigantic difficulties in the way of any effective attempt to abolish the traffic in opium controlled by the six monopoly countries in the Far East. The preliminary opium conference, which began on Nov. 3 and ended on Nov. 16, 1924, had accomplished practically nothing. The first general opium conference which followed (Nov. 17-Dec. 16—generally referred to as the First Opium Conference), after weeks of labor, brought forth an international agreement approved by seven out of the eight delegations represented—an agreement which, according to its preamble, aimed to secure “effective suppression, on the grounds of humanity, with the least possible delay, of the use of prepared opium.” The treaty drafted by virtue of its first article established a legalized traffic in the drug in the Far Eastern possessions of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and Japan. China alone fought the agreement and ultimately refused to become a signatory. Bishop Charles Brent, the American clergyman who had fought the narcotic evil strenuously and who was a member of the official American delegation to the First (general) Conference, carried on the battle in Paris and London. The agreement was left unratified and without effect. The American delegation, supported by thirty nations not involved in the Far East traffic, strove vigorously to have the work of the First Conference made

a part of the agenda of the Second Conference, which opened in January, the main purpose being to secure discussion of the American plan of “limiting the production of opium to the strictly medical and scientific needs of the world.”

This American proposal was taken up for consideration and became the object of stormy dissensions in the opening sessions of the Second Conference. It was this proposal which had led to the adjournment of the previous conference on Dec. 16, to enable the delegates opposing the American program to consult their Governments. The delegations of the six monopoly countries were reported to have declared that they would withdraw from the discussion if the American demands to settle the question of abolishing the traffic in prepared opium were yielded to. The clash between the American delegation, headed by Representative Stephen G. Porter, and the spokesman for Great Britain was accentuated by strong Japanese support of the American program—a support officially tendered on Jan. 18.

At the opening of the Second Conference a serious conflict developed between Lord Cecil, spokesman for the British delegation, and Mr. Porter, representing the American delegation. Great Britain, through Lord Cecil; France, through M. Daladier, and Holland, through Dr. Loudon, all united against the American demand, especially that calling for the abolition of the opium traffic within ten years. Lord Cecil, in a speech lasting for over two hours, reviewed the entire problem of drug addiction and the opium evil specifically. He repudiated the charge that Great Britain was actuated by pecuniary motives and argued that the ten-year limit proposed

by the American delegation was impracticable because of the heavy illicit production in China and unrestricted smuggling. His proposal was to stop opium smoking within fifteen years, but only on condition that this period be estimated "from the date on which the effective execution of measures taken by China to suppress the growth of the opium poppy has reached such a stage as to remove the danger of opium smuggling from China into those territories." This date, under his plan, was to be fixed by a commission to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. Mr. Porter's refusal to accept this plan and Lord Cecil's subsequent charge at the session of Jan. 20 that the people of the United States were using more narcotics and opium than the people of India, one of the great opium-consuming countries of the world, led to a crisis which, on Jan. 23 threatened the disruption of the entire conference. At the time when these pages went to press, however, this crisis had been resolved and hope was again rising that some settlement might be reached.

The lack of success of the several opium conferences held hitherto at Geneva, including that still in progress when these pages went to press, and which may yet find a solution, has more than ordinary significance. Behind these repeated failures lies a situation of which the nations not involved have had but little knowledge. Behind the scenes at Geneva lurked the demon of opium traffic in the Far East. The Occidental world has for many years failed to comprehend the number of opium monopolies in the Far East and has failed to grasp the importance of their national character. Whenever opium monopolies are mentioned, British and American readers at once mentally visualize Hongkong, Singapore and the Malay States; because these are British colonies, and because of the intimate association of the opium traffic with India, they erroneously associate the whole of the opium evil with British rule. This is far from being the case, however, and before going into details

concerning these monopolies I may summarize the situation thus: India exports yearly approximately 1,000,000 pounds of opium to the monopoly countries of the East, and of this total export less than one-third goes to British colonies and dependencies, and more than two-thirds goes to non-British monopolies. It follows then only one-third of that evil could be remedied through suppressive action by the British Government unless the larger importing countries of the East took similar action.

The Eastern monopolies and their yearly approximate importation of opium are shown in the following table:

BRITISH	
<i>Monopolies.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
North Borneo	18,000
Straits Settlements	160,000
Federated Malay States.....	78,000
Unfederated Malay States.....	49,000
Hongkong	23,000
Total.....	328,000
NON-BRITISH	
<i>Monopolies.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
Indo-China	170,000
Dutch East Indies	234,000
Macao	24,000
Formosa	155,000
Siam	163,000
Total.....	746,000

If the greater importing country produces the greater harm, the British monopolies should receive less blame than France, Holland, Siam, Japan and Portugal. One fact common to all Eastern monopolies is that opium traffic and opium smoking are almost exclusively confined to the Chinese population, as few of the original races touch it; and inasmuch as the bulk of the Chinese are either engaged in indented service or encouraged to reside for labor purposes, the yearly amount of opium consumed varies with the number of labor coolies, and these with the conditions of local commerce and trade. Several representatives of the monopoly countries at the first conferences held at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations declared that the use of opium had decreased in their colonies.

Their estimate for this alleged decrease was arrived at by taking a period of six or ten years for comparison. Such a method of calculation, however, is fallacious or otherwise according as the years fell during or immediately after the World War. One or two countries—French Indo-China in particular—had bumper rice harvests and unprecedented prosperity during part of the war, and consequently their opium consumption increased. In the years 1916-1918, in fact, Indo-China doubled her opium import. The majority of colonies, however, suffered from trade depression and had to reduce their Chinese labor in all plantation and mining areas, and consequently opium consumption fell. To be just, all estimates of opium consumption should exclude the years 1914-1919. With improvement of trade the number of Chinese laborers has been gradually rising to pre-war standards, hence we are faced with the lamentable fact that the monopoly countries are consuming today, bulk for bulk, the same amount of opium (in some cases even more) as in 1912, when the representatives of their respective nations signed The Hague Convention.

This fact has been repeatedly emphasized by Sir John Jordan as regrettable evidence that twelve years after the signing of The Hague Convention, Article 6 of that convention, which demanded measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of internal trade in and use of prepared opium, i. e., "smoking opium," shows no signs of even a mild fulfillment. Macao reported in the minutes of the fifth session of the League of Nations Opium Committee that in 1921 she consumed 24,784 pounds of prepared opium. This is difficult to understand, for at the auction sale in May, 1920, when the bidding started for the three years' contract for the sale of opium, it was on the fixed basis of 260 chests of opium per annum, as agreed to by Great Britain and Portugal. Now 260 chests of Indian opium are equal to 36,400 pounds, and for this the Lee Sing Company of Hongkong was the highest bidder at the price of \$3,-

950,000, and so obtained the contract. Apart from the home consumption, by the same treaty Macao is permitted to import 33,600 pounds for re-exportation, presumably to the South American republics. It seems hardly reasonable to hope that a firm which had paid such an enormous sum for the auction contract would be willing to restrain the sale of nearly 12,000 pounds of opium, for which there is a free and open market, in order to allow Portugal to report a decreased consumption. Even if the 260 chests were not consumed by the 78,000 Chinese resident in Macao, it is absolutely certain that as raw opium it passed over into China. If the consumption of opium in Macao has really decreased by one-third, then when the renewal of the agreement between Great Britain and Portugal which is now pending takes place, there should be a reduction of 80 chests in imports. Until total prohibition is introduced, a better plan would be for Macao to give up "farming" her opium and to establish a Government monopoly. She is the only non-Government monopoly in the East, and has perpetuated for many years the evils attending the forcible sales of a very energetic firm of Chinese opium dealers.

Indo-China in 1912 imported 67 tons of opium to be consumed by Chinese smokers; in 1916 140 tons and in 1921 73 tons; and this despite the fact that while opium was sold at \$88 per kilo in 1907, the price has gradually been increased to \$187 per kilo in 1920. Siam in 1917-18 imported 86,000 kilos of opium, but in 1920-21 101,000 kilos. The Netherlands East Indies in 1918 imported 84,000 kilos, but in 1920 126,000 kilos. The revenue from opium in British North Borneo in 1912, when The Hague Convention was signed, was \$915,000, and in 1920 \$1,800,000.

These examples will suffice to show that with one or two notable exceptions all the colonies suffered from depression of trade caused by the war; if, therefore, we take the statistics of that period and compare them with pre-war years, it becomes obvious that opium imports are less. But this decrease in

no sense indicates either improvement or restriction, for with the improved post-war trade conditions, opium imports have increased in practically every colony. The Chinese population in the various territories varies with the trade conditions, but on an average it is between seven and eight millions.

The following statistics from the League of Nations report shows the number of Chinese and the annual per capita consumption of opium in these various territories:

	Number of Chinese.	Grains of Opium.
British North Borneo.....	37,600	3,360.0
Straits Settlements.....	432,764	2,385.0
Federated Malay States...	494,548	990.0
Unfederated Malay States.	180,000	1,748.0
Hongkong	610,368	224.5
Indo-China	546,928	2,007.0
Dutch East Indies.....	880,000	1,714.5
Macao	74,000	2,152.5
Formosa	3,000,000	333.0
Siam	1,000,000	1,050.0

In order to say positively that decrease of opium has taken place in any one monopoly colony, it would be necessary to have statistics of the number of smokers and their yearly per capita consumption, but there are only two monopolies in which license and registration of smokers exist, namely, Siam and Formosa. If a colony attributes its increased import of opium to its increased number of Chinese, it is quite possible to argue that in spite of increased import the per capita consumption is less, but such statistics are unavailable for the reason given above. Further, to take the whole Chinese population in a given colony and divide up the yearly import and then say that the average per capita consumption is so much, gives no indication of the destructive effects of opium on the users, for all Chinese are not opium smokers. Siam is a case in point. She has 1,000,000 Chinese, for whom in 1920 she imported 70,000 kilos of opium, which works out at 1,050 grains per capita, but of the 1,000,000 Chinese only 200,000 are registered smokers and this makes an average for each smoker of 5.250 grains per annum. Formosa, similarly, in 1920 imported 66,517 kilos

of opium which, if divided up on the basis of the whole Chinese population of 3,000,000, works out at 333 grains per capita; but Formosa has only 49,000 registered licensed smokers, and if these are the only persons permitted to use opium we have the enormous consumption of over 22,000 grains per capita. When Japan adopted compulsory registration of opium smokers in Formosa in 1900, licenses were issued to 189,064 smokers. No fresh licenses were granted after 1909, hence in 1920 only 49,036 remained alive, and the Japanese delegate to the League of Nations Opium Committee supplied the astounding evidence that the annual mortality of opium smokers was four times greater than that of the non-smoking population.

It is impossible to go into the arguments put forward by many defenders of moderate opium use. Against these arguments, however, are the Formosa statistics, showing that while the average mortality among the general population is just over 2 per cent. per annum, that of the opium smoking class is over 8 per cent. An opium smoker on an average lives out but a quarter of his life and is therefore an economic loss to any nation. Japan declared at Geneva that "progress was being made in the suppression of opium in Formosa." Surely the term "suppression" should not be applied to opium so much as to the opium smokers, for, in the words of the same delegate, the fact that "4,000 smokers have died annually for the last ten years" makes it simple to calculate that opium smokers in Formosa will be totally "suppressed" in a given number of years. Formosa has most certainly decreased her use of prepared smoking opium, but her raw opium imports she has increased considerably, ostensibly for the purpose of manufacturing, as she did in 1920, 8,500 pounds of crude morphia.

It is greatly to be regretted that the First Opium Conference at Geneva could not arrive at a decision to register and license opium smokers in all monopoly countries. This was one of the six proposals of the British delegate, Sir Mal-

colm Delevigne, which formed the program of the conference. Why not? Surely this ought to be the very first step in any useful method of restriction. With registration, the number of Chinese coolies, who developed the opium habit before leaving China, and of those who acquired it in the monopoly country, could easily be ascertained. Further, if the monopoly countries really wished to fulfill The Hague convention by gradual reduction, no better method could be suggested. With registration and the refusal to issue fresh licenses after a given date, one could calculate from the Formosa mortality returns the exact year in which all the smokers would have died, and the traffic be automatically ended.

But do the monopolies really wish to end the opium traffic? There is positively no evidence to show that they do, and much, including the Cecil proposals at the opening of the Second Conference, that they do not. Bulk for bulk they are using the same amount as in 1912, and are prepared to oppose any measure aiming at restriction. Six nations are involved—Japan, Siam, the Netherlands, France, Portugal and Great Britain. I have not dealt with the British monopolies because their participation in the traffic is widely known, and my purpose is to show that responsibility extends also to others. All monopolies, in justice, must be included.

The question that arises is: Is there no remedy? The monopoly defenders all say that the Chinese must have opium; that they mostly use it in moderation and that it makes them happy and contented in laborious work under tropical conditions. Without opium, they declare, "We would not get the laborers." This is not the complete truth. During the war 95,000 coolies were taken from North China to France by the British Government on a three years' indented service; not a man smoked opium, and yet they were contented and would vol-

unteer again tomorrow. The great opposition to restriction evidenced at the first two conferences at Geneva and at the beginning of the third was based on the difficulties in preventing the smuggling into the colonies of Chinese cheap opium. Both the smuggling and the preventive difficulties have, in my opinion, been much exaggerated. With the notable exception of Hongkong, whose Governor recently declared in council that no financial consideration would stand in the way of complete opium suppression, but that it must be *pari passu* with Chinese suppression, we cannot escape the conviction that finance is the great rock of obstruction. So long as the monopolies of the East are annually raising from 22 to 46 per cent. of their revenue from opium or, as in the case of North Borneo, meeting the whole of their colonial expenditure by opium sales and pawnshops, it will be idle to say that the 8,000,000 Chinese in these territories are not being exploited for financial gain. Were it otherwise, surely these six nations signatories to The Hague convention could have discovered in twelve years some method whereby their opium consumption would have been lessened. In the words of Bishop Brent: "Money is, indeed, a root of all evil. As with individuals, so with Governments. The crux of the matter is that narcotics are wealth—as well as vice—producing. Eliminate revenue, and what Government would have further interest in the cultivation of the poppy?" The outcome of the Third (technically called the Second) Conference was uncertain when these pages went to press, but it is fair to say that if the formidable obstacles to abolition or restriction are finally overcome and if the Second Conference succeeds in solving this international problem, it will have conferred an incalculable boon on the whole world generally, and specifically on the weak, struggling and suffering masses of humanity in the Far East.

Higher Education to Safeguard Democracy

By CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING

President Emeritus of Western Reserve University

H. A. L. FISHER, Minister of Education in the Cabinet of Lloyd George, and, for several years, among the best of Oxford tutors, on Jan. 6, 1925, made an address in London on "Education in England and America." Mr. Fisher especially commended primary education in America, and also noted that the material equipment of all grades of American education was superior to the English. He also recognized that the higher schools and the universities of the United States were making a gallant and only partially successful fight against the poor writing and poor speaking of our English language. He appreciated the fact that the private schools represented a revolt against the "leveling spirit of democracy which is proceeding in every quarter of American life." He lamented, however, that much of the teaching in American schools was inferior "in quality in points of thoroughness and scholarship." But perhaps the most pregnant of all Mr. Fisher's remarks related to American education as a nation-maker. He said: "One of the reasons which confirms the American in his faith in education is that he recognizes in schools and colleges a unifying force which makes out of the heterogeneous amalgam of races a single people and a single national consciousness. Education is the great harmonizer, the nation-maker, the essentially American thing."

Each of the judgments of Mr. Fisher, and especially the remark just quoted, deserves serious and thoroughgoing consideration.

The understanding and application of

the democratic principle in recent months and years have been marked by terrible excesses. The fear also is common, in certain parts well-nigh dominant, that the further application of the principle may yet be characterized by excesses no less terrible. But neither the fact nor the fear should cause blindness or numbness on the part of the thoughtful to the orderly and constant development of the democratic movement in recent years and decades. The years and decades, not days or weeks, should form the democratic measuring stick.

The democratic principle has, in the last decades, spread more widely than in the whole preceding century. If one may use a bold hyperbole, in the last twenty years the democratic movement has gone further and gone deeper than in all preceding time. In this process it has assumed diverse forms. In a revolt against despotism it has gathered up the forces of revolution, and these forces have passed into forces anarchistical; which forces in turn have, completing the political circle, become despotic. Moreover, without revolution or anarchistical ravings and stirrings, in almost silent forcefulness, has democracy entered into the monarchical arena, and, coming forth, has proved itself to be discreet, persistent, commanding. Partial democracy also, or what might be called class democracy, has become comprehensive and, within its fields, absolute.

This survey proves how unspeakably momentous has been the advance of the democratic principle. With all its im-

perfections of application and under diverse political conditions, encompassed by perils of misunderstanding and of fickleness of the peoples, the principle is undoubtedly to progress till it shall cover the whole earth as the waters cover the sea. The democratic principle, however, is subject to perils, perils serious, diverse, complex. Concerning certain of these perils I wish to say a word.

Perhaps the peril pointed out with the most constant, and sometimes severe, directness is the peril of the lack of wise guidance. The peril is as lasting as democracy. The peril begins with democracy, and it will undoubtedly continue as long as democracy continues. Democracy seen in the New England town meeting is one thing, a thing very wise and proper. Democracy manifest in an assemblage in Union Square, New York, to oppose the draft for soldiers at the time of the American Civil War is an utterly different thing. But even a mob develops some sort of headship and of following. It listens to the man who mounts the soap box and usually follows the man who waves a flag, or two flags, or who even flaunts a piece of hemp rope. The multitude will by some means have a leadership. It is, of course, of untold importance that the leadership be wise, wise in a wisdom commensurate with the importance of the issues committed to it.

CHOICE OF LEADERS

Democracy is often obliged—some would say is usually obliged—to accept the guidance of its second-best leaders. Of course, in its heart of hearts, it prefers the ablest and the wisest. But the able and the wise often lack that sense of camaraderie and of sympathy which renders them acceptable to the dominant majority. The ablest and the wisest may be cold in emotion and devoted to the theoretical consideration of government. The people will have as their counselors those who stand close to them. The counselors may lack the wisdom of the wisest; but what they lack in wisdom the people instinctively

make up by the precious elements of sympathy and of emotional and possibly intellectual understanding. In such an acceptance of the second-best guidance, it becomes of extreme worth that, without lessening good leadership, the guidance should be as wise as it is possible to make or to accept. Cleons will abound, but it is well to make Cleons as little foolish as possible.

This lack of appreciation of the best guidance may arise from either of two causes, opposite forces, which nevertheless are more or less dominant. The one cause is political indifference, the other emotionalism. The people may become inconsiderate or careless of their own welfare. They may, having established a government, believe they are doing their full duty in leaving it alone. "Let the Government do it," becomes a commonplace maxim of easy speech and application. Such a method seems to prevail at times in the American Commonwealth. Such a method is a step toward monarchical or oligarchical despotism and consequent corruption. Democracy must, like birds' nests, be remade every year.

DANGERS OF EMOTIONALISM

The second cause of the failure to appreciate wise guidance is emotionalism. Wisdom in political leadership is comprehensive of many issues. It may represent only a single crisis, or it may cover a long period of time. Emotionalism is stirred by the timeliness of a platform or of a single plank in a platform. It lacks the long view in both space and time. Under the intensity of excitement—an excitement which is transient—it acts with rashness, a rashness which is none the less harmful or even disastrous when free from the baseness of a low political motive.

Not far remote from indifference and emotionalism as perils of democracy lies the peril of the narrow or small group vested with political control. While the multitude may be indifferent to its concerns, or while its attention is fixed on a single issue, a few citizens may yet form a group for carrying for-

ward the functions of government. The result is an oligarchical democracy, or a democratic oligarchy. The motive may be worthy or unworthy. The group is usually small, yet possessing many ramifications and united by a common desire for advantage. It may also be joined together by fear of exposure and of consequent shame, decline and fall. City Governments, in particular, seem most open to such dangers. It is a symptom the more peculiar inasmuch as it is the Government of one's own city which touches the citizens far more closely and constantly than does the Government of the State or of the whole Commonwealth. Such Governments or reasonings become possible because of the aloofness of the so-called best classes from political affairs. The condition is lamentably common and as lamentable as it is common.

ASSETS OF DEMOCRACY

A further peril of democracy is made by what I shall call a failure to appreciate the liquid character of the assets and forces which constitute democracy. The assets are the intelligence and the good-will of the people who govern. These assets are changed easily and swiftly. The people who today are wise, may in a half decennial period become unintelligent and unwise (as, it may be added, an opposite change may occur, though with hardly a similar ease). Good-will may be transformed into a will positively bad or indifferent. Democracy is a river, ever flowing and sometimes overflowing its confining banks, but it is ever flowing, ever emptying itself. It is of primary importance that its tributary forces of knowledge, or wisdom, of a willing for betterment, should also be kept as constantly full. If the Missouri and other streams flung into the Mississippi should run dry, the Mississippi itself would lose its flowing floods. The result is as easy of occurrence in the political as in the physical world.

A further peril of political democracy is the failure to estimate properly what I shall call the imponderables.

The imponderables are the apparent trifles of individual or commercial well-being. They are the small change of the governmental and social interchanges. They represent the lights and the shadows, the atmosphere and the strongest personal influences that unite or separate. They are a part of the lights and shadows which, not perceived consciously, do help to make the picture of national and personal well-being. They stand for those civilities and refinements, those graces and the spirit of graciousness, those well-ordered and well-understood courtesies of which the presence has much worth, and the absence of which produces misunderstandings which easily gravitate into disagreements and separations and collisions. The adherents and supporters of democracies are prone to say that such conditions are unimportant, and that Government for and by the people should not waste either precious time or more precious strength in such trifles. Though they be trifling instances in themselves, they help to constitute concerns of the greatest worth and of the gravest seriousness. Such a condition is a fault to which all Governments, as well as individuals, are prone, but to which democracies are peculiarly liable.

PERILS OF POWER

The comprehensive danger of democracy, to sum up the perils to which I have alluded, is the peril of an advancement of power without a corresponding advancement in intelligence and in intellectual considerateness. The peril of democracy is seen in the history of the creation and the application of new and tremendous forces of nature like electricity, without the creation of the human intelligence which can direct them, or curb if necessary, into useful channels. Every advanced step in democracy, as well as its first step, is marked by the peril, but the peril has been, and will continue to be, met by the intellectual force which we designate as the higher education.

There are several elements which help to constitute the higher education as the

most effective force for meeting and preventing these perils which accompany and constitute the progress of democracy.

Lord Morley—whose death was a loss to the higher interests of the world—in his great oration on John Bright, speaks of the strength of a country as consisting “in the moral reason of things.” It is to the making and the nourishing of such a force or quality that universities are devoted. They are founded to develop reason, that intellectual power of which the function is not only to seek out evidence but to relate fact to fact, and to find in them each and all the great law of causality. Universities are the searchers for truth, and they are the interpreters to the minds of the children of men. The most common emblem on the shield of the university is the rising sun, and the two most common words are “lux” (light) and “veritas” (truth).

The reason which is enlightened deserves the epithet moral. It represents a moral influence and force used for the benefit of man. Man is a moral being and the universe is a moral universe. The reason stands for abstract right and also for the rights of man. It is neither fugitive nor cloistered. It is swift to go and eager to stay where men most need and want it. It represents honesty, truth translated into principle, stability, justice, foresight, temperance, and it is the nurse of courage and of manly virtue. It is wisdom—that is, truth applied—and to it also may be applied the eulogy of Solomon:

VALUE OF WISDOM

Wisdom is better than rubies; and all the things that may be desired are not to be compared to it. (Proverbs, iii., 11.)

How much better it is to get wisdom than gold! and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver. (Proverbs, xvi., 16.)

He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul; he that keepeth understanding shall find good. (Proverbs, xix., 8.)

For wisdom is a defense and money is a defense; but the excellency of knowledge is that wisdom giveth life to them that have it. (Ecclesiastes, vii., 12.)

The higher education, as manifest in the universities of the world, also represents merit and the assignment of merit to its proper place or niche. Merit is a human quality, and it is more and less. Lord Sherbrooke said—it was in the troublesome year of 1868: “We [in England] are in a fair way to ruin, for we give all the power to the ignorant and refuse to teach them.” The university seeks to train men of merit unto the highest merit, and to promote the allocating of men as their deserts, either high or low, command. One chief defect in human society and in Government is that to the unworthy or to the incapable are given conditions and circumstances requiring largest wisdom and strongest strength, and that to those possessing the largest wisdom and strongest strength are not given opportunities demanding powers so powerful or so unique. Such unfitness results in disasters more or less complete. The universities seek to create a sort of automatic State in which merit shall instinctively be accepted at its true worth, and in which just assignment of duties shall be inevitable.

The higher education, too, in a democracy helps to form a body of maturer intellectual men whose presence and whose voices are of the utmost value in the creation of that most worthy asset, public opinion. In a democracy that undefined and indefinite force, public opinion, is the substratum of Government and of social well-being. New communities are liable to lack such an asset. In old communities, too, the asset is in danger of not being recognized at its proper worth. Indifference to it on the part of the people is common. In new communities, such as Australia and New Zealand, individualism has been and still is regnant. Each new citizen, knowing that fate has cast his fortune into his own keeping and making, is inclined to think out and to solve his problems without regard to the problems of his brother or to his communal relationship. The university has regard for the individual, but it has also regard, and more, for society. It seeks to promote the corporate under-

standing. It endeavors properly to relate individual to individual, to inspire all with the worthiest communal ideals, to lay down a common platform of truth on which all may stand, to interpret public needs in the light of tomorrow as well as of today, and to endeavor to bring the light and the experience of the whole community to the doing of local duties.

THE CIVILIZING PROCESS

The higher education, as constituted in the university, also seeks in the democracy to promote the whole civilizing process. This civilizing process relates to the displacing of the methods and instincts of barbarism with the principles of the highest human welfare. Such a substitution is both elementary and fundamental. The missionary schools, founded in lands as remote and dissimilar as South Africa and Asia Minor, embody such an original force and method. The results thus achieved in two generations, in spite of present disasters and overthrows and destructions; are of primary value. They embody the transformation of mob-like hordes, cruel, revengeful, living in the lower zones of intelligence, into communities composed of families with written languages, capable of accumulating experience, respectful to other communities, and able to foster the peace and the good-will of the world. The university, in its promotion of the civilizing process, is to serve not simply in this fundamental work of doing away with barbarism in life and practice. It is also to nourish what I have called the imponderables. It is not simply to eliminate the barbarian. It is also to bring in the gentleman, and the gentleman of the highest type. It is to be the nurse of life's civilities, to promote intellectual conscientiousness, which is courtesy, and to develop intellectual altruism, which is charity. It is to make social intercourse happier with the happiness of the noblest, to develop self-respect without undue self-consciousness; to cultivate respect for others without servility, and to give to good manners that dignity which fine courtesy inspires. Discrimi-

nation and considerateness are the intellectual hall-marks of the higher education, as kindness of heart and justice of will form the moral characteristics and elements of man.

The higher education also serves in and through a democracy as an international force. Democracies are inclined to be tribal. The university creates not simply the international mind, but also the international conscience, the international heart, the international will. Truth, its chief concern, does not recognize national boundaries. Truth flies over the mountain peaks. It does not care for the East or for the West, for the North, or for the South, for the near or for the far. The teachings of the professors' lecture room soon become the talk of the street, and the discoveries of the laboratory, physical or chemical or biological, presently build the bridges which span the great rivers, or create the electric forces which send messages through the air or under the unfathomed sea, or compound remedies which heal sickness, or grow new fruits and grains which nourish life. Kelvin's compass, the result of the thinking of a great researcher in a historic university, has helped to rid the sea of its terrors, and his cables laid under all oceans unite nations with chains stronger than treaties and mightier than the ties of blood or of historic relationship. The university, too, training the men of different nationalities, as well as promoting the cause of truth, is an international force blessing the community. I remember once having an interview with a distinguished Japanese in his office in Tokio. He said that, if the university men of Japan and of New York could have the opportunity of coming into companionship and good fellowship, they could, if allowed time enough, remove all fears of war between their respective nations. The only peril was that, in the case of a sudden outbreak and deluge of passion, the thoughtful mind would have no opportunity of using itself or of making itself heard in the tumults of the mob. Under such tumults, governments might

suddenly be flung into conclusions from which they could not retreat.

The university through the education which it offers also promotes the essential element of a democracy—which democracy is ever inclined to forget—religion. It does not promote a sectarian type of faith. It moves in latitudes and in longitudes of greatest circles and widest degrees.

The advantages which the university and its education provide should represent permanent offerings to civilization. The university does not rise or fall with the accession or dismissal of Cabinets, with the whims of the populace, with the acceptance or the rejection of social or economic theories, but sets its

mind and its will to its duty of seeking and, if possible, of finding the truth, and to development in the educated man of the richest, finest and noblest character.

In pursuing such a definite and constant quest, democracy in turn should prove to be the surest support of the university. The support which has been given to the university by the democracies of the New World gives ground for hope that the democracies of the world, in all the succeeding generations, will not fail to offer constant aid and comfort to the cause of the higher education which is at once the cornerstone and the keystone of humanity's welfare and progress.

American Children in Bondage

By BENJAMIN P. CHASS

Writer on political, social and economic questions

IT was reported from Washington on Jan. 27 that the Child Labor amendment to the Constitution, submitted to the States for ratification through concurrent resolution of Congress, had "apparently" been defeated, in view of the rejection on that date of the proposal by one or the other house of the Ohio, Kansas and North Dakota Legislatures, bringing the number of rejecting States up to thirteen, representing the required one-quarter of all the States needed to defeat the projected amendment. The following States, through action of one or both legislative branches, have refused to ratify: Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas and Washington. The Legislature of Wyoming postponed all action indefinitely. Massachusetts in a referendum held in November, 1924, defeated the proposal by a decisive majority (696,119 against 247,-

221) and there was declared to exist little probability of the Massachusetts Legislature's reversal of the clearly expressed will of the State electorate. Of the thirty-six States representing the two-thirds vote of ratification required to make the proposal law, only Arkansas and California have ratified. One State—Delaware—voted No on Feb. 2. States that have not given their decision are: Florida, whose Legislature will meet in June; Kentucky, Mississippi and Virginia, whose Legislatures will not re-assemble until 1926, and Alabama and Maryland, before whose Legislatures the proposed amendment will not come, if at all, until the year 1927. Various reasons were assigned to explain the apparent defeat, that, like the Prohibition amendment, it represented an unwarranted interference with the rights of the States, with parental rights, with already existing State legislation deemed adequate, and so forth.

It was stated on Jan. 28 that certain influential circles in Washington accepted the view that the death knell of the amendment had sounded. The American Federation of Labor, however, declared that the battle was not over and expressed belief that the necessary number of States would yet ratify. The National Child Labor Committee on Jan. 27 issued a statement pointing out important reasons why the struggle to protect the nation's children still held elements of hope. Thus the forces in favor are still carrying on the battle that will decide whether or not "Congress shall have the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age."

While the States are in heated debate over this vital question, it is important to look into the matter of child labor. How many are at work? Where do these children work? These and other questions are very interesting and at this time they are most important.

The United States Census report of 1920 stated that there were at that time 1,060,858 children of 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed, or 8.5 per cent. of the total number of children between these ages. This number showed a large decrease from that of 1910, in which year there were 1,990,225 children of 10 to 15 years employed in some gainful occupation in the United States. The Census Bureau explained this great drop as follows:

A large part of the decrease occurred among children engaged in agricultural pursuits, who in 1910 numbered 1,432,428 and in 1920 only 647,309, a decrease of 58.8 per cent. This fact suggests that a part, at least, of the apparent falling off is fallacious, due to a change in the time of collecting the census figures. In 1910 they were collected as of April 15; in 1920 as of Jan. 1. April is a time of great agricultural activity when, if ever, children in rural districts are apt to work. January is a dull season for farming.

Hence we see that these figures are not correct. The number of children employed — 1,060,858 — includes only the ages of 10 to 15; this did not take into consideration those under 10 or those above 15. Neither did the census

reports include those children engaged in street trading, industrial home work and messenger work. That this number is unreliable is further borne out by a statement of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor to the effect that this census was taken at the beginning of a period of industrial depression. * * * Moreover, in 1920, the employment of children was discouraged by a Federal child labor law. Since the census of 1920 was taken this law has been declared unconstitutional, the industrial depression has been succeeded by a period of increasing employment, and were a census to be taken today it would doubtless show a notably larger number of employed children than that of January, 1920.

It is therefore quite obvious that the figures compiled by the Census Bureau in 1920 are incomplete and insufficient for a study of child labor in general.

In June, 1924, the National Child Labor Committee almost doubled the number given by the Census Bureau. "It is now reliably estimated," the committee stated, "that at least 2,000,000 children under 15 years of age are being gainfully employed." However, even these figures—"at least 2,000,000"—do not tell the whole story of the extent of child labor, because this estimate does not include those children employed above the age of 15. In view of these incomplete figures it is apparent that we must calculate differently if we desire to arrive at some more complete and more reliable estimate.

The census of 1920 reports the total population of all children between the ages of 7 and 18 as being 24,942,680; of this number 19,100,819 are reported at school, thus leaving 5,841,961 children between these ages outside of school and supposed to be at work. Although the proposed child labor amendment includes all children up to the age of 18, it is generally considered that 16 is the limit when speaking of child labor, and the writer will allow this leeway in his calculation of the extent of child labor.

But even if we fix the limit of child labor at 16, there are still 3,132,621 children from the ages of 7 to 16 who

are not reported at school and who are apparently engaged in some gainful occupation. But it may be argued that there are many children, especially in the rural districts, who at the ages of 7 and 8 are neither at school nor at work.

This argument carries with it great weight. But even if the entire number of children between the ages of 7 and 18 who are not at school should be discounted, we would still have more than two and a half million children at work. I need not, however, deduct this latter sum, for in the estimate of 3,132,621 I did not include those children of 5 and 6, hundreds of whom are at work in tenement manufacturing, in the beet fields and on the farms. Furthermore, I did not include in my estimate those children who work during the non-school months, those who work after school hours and those children who at the age of 2 and 3 have been found toiling away their days of mere infancy, helping their mothers eke out a living in the tenement houses of New York and other cities.

ALMOST 6,000,000 CHILD WORKERS

Considering the foregoing, it must be admitted that there are over 3,000,000 children from 7 to 16 employed in the United States and 5,841,961 children between the ages of 7 and 18 who are gainfully engaged in some occupation. In other words, should the child labor amendment become effective, the Federal Government would become responsible for nearly 6,000,000 workers; and this figure may be greatly increased before the amendment becomes part of our Constitution.

My object in writing this article is to show where these millions of children are employed, their hours and conditions of labor and their compensation in the form of wages. Since we do not have any special sources of information for this army of child workers, we must rely upon the census report for our data. The United States Census Bureau provides us with the following information concerning the 1,060,858 children from 10 to 15 gainfully employed:

Agricultural pursuits, 647,309; manufacturing and mechanical industries, 185,337; clerical occupation, 80,140; trade, 63,368; transportation, 18,912; extraction of minerals, 7,191; other occupations, 4,595; domestic and personal service, 54,006. Total, 1,060,858.

The employment of children in the United States is neither new nor novel. Before the factory system was established and our industrial revolution had begun, child labor was used. The exploitation of children, it was then argued, was of vital necessity to the upbuilding of industry in this country. It was further said that child labor was not only beneficial to industry, but to the child as well, because it made him self-supporting and kept him from the temptations of idleness and from the ways of mischief. Hence, child labor was said to be both economically necessary and morally desirable. But the opponents of child labor were not to be stilled. Horace Mann, the educator, was among the very first who advocated the abolishment of child exploitation.

As a result of this protest, various measures of one kind or another were enacted to provide education for the working children; later, certain hours were fixed by many States and various States regulated to some extent the work of these toiling youngsters. Besides these various State laws, Congress passed two laws restricting child labor, but both were declared unconstitutional; hence the project to have the child labor amendment passed by the United States Congress.

The table given above shows conclusively that large numbers of children are employed in many occupations. Toiling children are found in the mine, factory and mill. Working children are found on the street, in the office and the store. Children are found at work in the home and on the farm. The toil of these children is partly responsible for the coal used in our homes and factories; for the automobiles in which we ride for our pleasure and business; for the fruits and vegetables we eat, and for the fine attire which our women wear.

As is true of all labor, child labor

also fares worse in the South. The children on the truck farms of Norfolk, Va., take part in the preparation of the soil, in planting and transplanting, in the cultivation of the crops, in harvesting and various other kinds of work. Although the majority of children investigated by the Children's Bureau were found to be working eight hours or less, many, it was learned, were working over ten hours daily. The education of these working children was found to be very much neglected. "A large proportion of those included in the study had attended school less than half the school term." * * *

Children were found working on these truck farms for the lowest wages imaginable; 5, 10, 15 and 20 cents an hour were the common wages paid, the older children receiving the higher amounts, and those of the younger classes—many who were below 8 years of age and some even below 5—usually earned 5 and 10 cents an hour. In speaking of these wages the bureau stated that "the earnings, especially of the younger children, seem a meagre return for the hours of labor, the physical strain of constant stooping, the exposure to heat and dampness and for many the loss of time in school, that the work entailed."

Investigation of the work of children on the truck and small fruit farms in Southern New Jersey brought out the same facts. Low wages, long hours, poor physical conditions affecting the health, education and welfare of the children; these are the facts in brief. Children as young as 6 years of age were found at work in the beet fields of Colorado and Michigan. Some 150 cases of malnutrition were found among 1,022 children studied. The health of these children was found to be very much impaired. Constant stooping resulted in 676 cases of "winged scapulae." "Hence two children in three were taxing the muscles of an undeveloped shoulder girdle in this period of their growth." Chests dragged downward, backs high and bowed over, interfering with free action in breathing; these are the sordid truths of these

cramped, overfatigued and overworked children.

Wherever else the Children's Bureau conducted these surveys of child labor the same conditions were found. Throughout the cotton regions children between the ages of 6 and 16 were found at work for long hours for rewards of a few cents an hour and the evidence was at hand that their health, education and welfare had been grossly neglected.

In the sugar beet fields "children of 5 and 6 thin, weed, pull, top, pile and cover beets at the various stages of the season." A national child labor committee reported: "We saw wrists that were swollen and lame, hands that were sore, cracked and full of dirt, and knees that were sore, cracked and calloused. The glare of the sun is a very severe strain upon the eyes of many children." In the cotton fields of California children as young as 4 pick from sunrise to sunset. In this "paradise" of the Golden West 15,000 children were reported employed in harvesting the twenty-four big crops, according to a survey made at the beginning of 1924 by the State Boards of Education and Health. These children are taken from the schoolroom in Spring and toil away until late in the Fall, most of them working with their parents, whose miserable wages do not suffice for the maintenance of the family. In the oyster and shrimp canning communities on the Gulf Coast thousands of children are at work earning from \$2 to \$5 per week.

HIDEOUS LABOR IN MINES

According to the last census there were 5,850 children employed in and around the coal mines. In Schuylkill County, situated in the coal-mining State of Pennsylvania, are found children employed as breaker boys, spraggers, mule drivers, trapper boys and in other work of this sort. Work in the breakers is usually considered as not very dangerous, so children and old, outworn workers are usually employed here. But this position has terrible features. The constant roar which the coal makes as it rushes down the chute is enough to im-

pair the hearing of any one. The coal black dust fills the lungs of these youthful toilers. The sharp slate cuts and bruises the tender fingers of the children and makes their hands sore and swollen. Continuous bleeding of the fingers is the effect that this cruel labor causes in the first few weeks before the skin is hardened and calloused. Other jobs are still more dangerous to the welfare of these children.

It is underground, however, that the worst suffering is endured by these children. Here the older boys, from 12 to 16 years of age, toil in a kind of Dantesque inferno, isolated in a terrible dark world. Here they often are forced to work in mud and water, sometimes stripped to the waistline because of the intense heat, and sometimes groping through suffocating gas and smoke. A more intolerable condition could not exist anywhere for the youth of America. Yet here mother's little tots are forced to slave away their childhood days, the time of play and gladness.

Up before dawn and down in the mines in the early morning, these boys face a daily battle of life and death. Here they are alone, shut off from the rest of the world, and when sudden death does come upon these martyred children, it comes in a terrible form, for here the victim is isolated, and no assistance is at hand to rescue the stifling young life. There are only about 6,000 children employed in and around the mines, but at this late date in civilization there should not be one single child or minor employed in these hideous occupations.

Home work is another thing that must be abolished entirely. At the present time are to be found thousands of children employed in the various home industries. Such work as stringing tags, thread drawing on lace, linking rosary beads, finishing underwear and many other kinds of such tedious work is performed by children in the various parts of the country. In the homes of these children are found the most degrading conditions that can be found anywhere in rich and progressive Amer-

ica. Here sits the mother with her children—as young as 2 and 3—working at these eye-straining occupations. The lowest remuneration possible is paid to these destitute mothers and children. A few cents an hour for this continuous and monotonous work is the most these children earn.

STARVATION WAGES IN THE HOME

The Monthly Labor Review, in its issue for August, 1924, reported that "women and children workers are usually paid starvation wages; for example, 15 cents per 100 for working buttonholes; 30 cents per dozen for making children's rompers, and from 50 to 75 cents a dozen for making working shirts and men's overalls." This is in the State of Louisiana.

Child labor was found to be prevalent in nearly a quarter of the 15,000 houses licensed to engage in home work in New York State, according to the 1924 report of the New York State Commission to examine laws relating to child welfare. The report states that "children of tender years—many of them under 10 years of age—are commonly permitted or required to engage in this work."

The *Terre Haute Advocate* (Jan. 25, 1924) contained the following bit of news:

Margaret A. McGroarty, a visiting teacher, told of frightful conditions in the Italian section of upper New York. She said that manufacturing work is done in nearly every home she visited. Children as young as 3 work on artificial flowers. With their fingers they apply paste to the flower that the mother or older sister may apply the petals. "The wages are deplorable," she testified. "Conditions in East Harlem are simply appalling. * * * The children come home from school, do not even wash their hands, but go right to work and eat when they can." * * *

In the foregoing pages the writer has attempted to set down briefly the conditions of the children of this country who are forced to work. As there are causes for everything that is in existence there are also various causes for the large prevalence of child labor. The Children's Bureau of the United States

Department of Labor, after conducting numerous surveys of child labor in the United States, reached the following conclusions as the fundamental causes of child labor:

Poverty and ignorance are both causes and effect of child labor. Although a large proportion of the children who go to work as soon as the law allows give dissatisfaction with school as the direct cause, nevertheless it is chiefly in homes where poverty, past or present, has caused a low standard of living or ignorance of the value of education that this dissatisfaction results in the child's leaving school for work. Physical deterioration, moral defect and industrial waste, as well as poverty, result from premature employment. While the enactment and the adequate enforcement of good child labor and compulsory school attendance laws are essential to the proper protection of children against industrial exploitation and loss of educational opportunity, adequate family incomes and an educational system satisfactorily adjusted to the needs of adolescent children are prerequisites to the solution of the child labor problem.

In brief, higher wages for the father, a better educational system and the realization of the crime of child labor are what are sorely needed for the abolishment of child labor in this country. The price of premature toil is too exceedingly high for a progressive and humane nation to tolerate in the twentieth century. Health, education, poverty and delinquency are the price of child labor, as shown by the Children's Bureau. The question before the country is whether this price can continue to be paid by the nation in order to supply industry with cheap labor.

ESSENTIALS TO PROTECT THE CHILD

All must agree that a child must have certain essentials in order that his health and welfare may be protected and his future assured. These essentials every

child must have, and a decent and humane nation should guarantee them to each and every one of her future citizens. Edward N. Clopper, the well-known social worker, lists these essentials as follows:

1. The right to be born in honor and sound in body and mind; to protection from disease and to the promotion of health.
2. The right to care, food, shelter and clothing.
3. The right to education and training sufficient to develop fully his capacity for knowledge and achievement.
4. The right to play and recreation and to the companionship of his fellows.
5. The right to be safeguarded from neglect, abuse, exploitation and other injustice.

These fundamentals are not enjoyed by the children who are forced to toil in mine, mill, factory, on the farm or anywhere else. Working children are not given the opportunity to live a normal childhood. Deprived of these vital essentials, the child cannot fare well; he is unable to live a normal life; his present is tragic and his future hopeless.

Children who work are deprived of the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Children deprived of an education grow up into illiterate adults. Children robbed of opportunities in the economic world often in their later years plunge into the cesspools of vice and crime. Toiling children are the future inmates of jails, homes for the delinquent and poorhouses.

Such are the crimes of child labor. Is it, then, any wonder that the progressive and broad-minded people of America are heart, mind and soul against child labor? It is the duty of the Legislatures of the various States to hearken to the united nation's compassionate, enlightened and humane appeal.



Results of American Rule in the Caribbean

By GARDNER L. HARDING

American newspaper correspondent who has traveled extensively in Latin America

IN the years since the World War controversy regarding the position of the United States in the islands of the Caribbean Sea has given place to something like a settled policy. Although doubt and apprehension still exist throughout the West Indies in regard to American imperialistic designs, this uncertainty is really due to confusion in American public opinion. Nevertheless, steadying influences have been at work that deserve full notice.

American civil interference in Santo Domingo was reduced to a minimum last September and American military interference was brought absolutely to an end with the departure in that month of the last of the expeditionary force of American marines. The bulk of them left the island in July, following the election in March of a Dominican President and Congress and the restoration which had been planned for since October, 1922, of the country's affairs into Dominican hands. This evacuation has made a favorable impression on Haiti as an indication of the temporary character of the American occupation, which is at present maintained by civilian and technical administrators in a country which was never more peaceful in its entire history. After the Reily episode in Porto Rico, which evoked a final manifestation of the Porto Rican independence movement, political issues in that advanced and energetic little island have crystallized on economic lines, so that in a community of American citizens enjoying manhood suffrage, freedom, in spite of neighboring Spanish-American connotations, has become an economic rather than a political term. Finally, as to Cuba, though it has elected two venal Presidents

since the war, has twice been on the verge of revolution and almost bartered away its birthright in the "dance of the millions" accompanying the historic inflation in sugar four years ago, General Crowder has certainly lost no friends for the United States by his adherence to the patient and far-seeing policy that any political entrenchment of American power would be in Cuba's present circumstances unthinkable.

In the first year or two after the World War both Haiti and Santo Domingo were still virtually in rebellion against what seemed to the world very much like an American military dictatorship. Congressional and army investigations were called for, and their very sketchy and inconclusive reports fell far short of satisfying an aroused public curiosity. Porto Rico, our most peaceful colony of a generation, displayed its one-starred flag again, resisted the too rapid enforcement in a Spanish country of what its new Governor from Kansas City called "the language of Washington, Lincoln and Harding" and seemed bent on becoming as thorny a problem as the Philippines. General Crowder found Cuba full of alarm because of possible American measures of restoring Cuban solvency after the sugar collapse, a state of feeling quite understandable in view of the advantage taken of Cuba's position by a certain American banking house. At the end of the long line of islands, 1,200 miles out in the Atlantic, there arose a veritable wail of calamity from the erstwhile Danish West Indies, now the Virgin Islands of the United States, which blamed American ownership for the brutal cutting off of their rum business, for accelerating the

decline of St. Thomas harbor and for local ambitions dampened by the withholding of American citizenship.

From that time to this nothing essential has changed in the nature of the peoples of the Caribbean, so that undue optimism now is unwarranted, as was undue pessimism in the shadow of the war. In fact, certain common characteristics of the people of these islands are important in themselves. The islands themselves extend 1,200 miles through the Greater Antilles, have a population considerably more than that of New England and an area a little less than that of England and Scotland combined and constitute a compact and substantial economic area. The responsibility the United States has assumed is all the greater because it was sought, and it is actual American soldiers everywhere, by reason of war, occupation or quasi-protectorate, that have made good the present American position. Their presence, as in Haiti, or the shadow of their recent occupation perfectly capable of being repeated, as in Cuba, stiffens American policy with a reality which it has in similar measure in no other similar part of the world. Trusteeship, or whatever other name one chooses to give to our tacitly extending control in the Caribbean, demands that we become less indifferent to this smaller world which the Monroe Doctrine has made wholly our own.

CUBAN POSSIBILITIES

An American entering this lane of American penetration, as was recently the hazardous fortune of the writer, in the course of four months of traveling and observing along its path, is agreeably surprised to find at the nearest point of entry in Cuba something resembling real friendliness for the United States thoroughly diffused throughout the Cuban population. The reason is that the pact guaranteeing Cuban freedom in 1902 has been maintained to the satisfaction of the Cuban people. The non-interference of the United States in Cuban affairs is not a negative fact but a very positive one in the Cuban imag-

ination. We still hold Guantanamo as a naval base, and there is still uncertainty over the title to the Isle of Pines; but the joint nature of the safeguard represented by the one and the convincingly general acceptance by American opinion of the lapse of our rights to the other have almost totally disarmed would-be Cuban irredentists of any grievance. It is also evident to Cubans that the United States has never interfered in Cuba for other than strictly Cuban purposes, and never longer than necessary. This does not say that Cuba would not be better off for a permanent American intervention. It probably would be; but Cubans are practically unanimous in refusing to believe this, especially those Cubans in whom the United States Government places most hope for progress. Although after years of freedom Cuba has one of the most thoroughly corrupt Governments in Latin America, apart from a few Cubans employed by American firms and a handful of Spaniards who for the most part are not Cuban citizens, the responsible people in Cuba still unmistakably want American tutelage to remain exactly where it is today, with the prospect that after a respectable interval of time even the Platt amendment, by which America still guarantees peace and order under the Cuban Constitution, may be still further limited, or abrogated altogether.

To the impatient American, Cuba bristles with opportunities for improvement. Public office is a personal emolument. This would not be so disastrous if something were left for posterity, but the Cuban politicians are ungenerous and voracious speculators. The roads are worse than they were in General Wood's day, though the streets of Havana are full of costly automobiles. Illiteracy has steadily increased since the last American intervention. The most shamefully venal lottery system anywhere in Latin America maintains an army of political hangers-on, while it disseminates thirty millions of the people's money annually—half of this rich little island's budget—in gam-

bling. This is the clue to Cuba: its very wealth is a premium on extravagance without seeming to bring bankruptcy any nearer. Yet when one President can boast of having made away with fifty million dollars, as José Miguel Gomez did—not merely for himself, he generously protested—it is evident that with such opportunities graft in Cuba is not a matter of small stakes. Nor has it been easy for his successors to make much headway against a dishonest system, however honest their own personal inclinations might be. The wholesome change that the United States might bring into this situation is nullified in anticipation by most Cubans, it must be admitted, by the very general belief that each time we have intervened in the past bad judgment and general unawareness of the situation have marked our efforts rather than the firmness and clairvoyance we generally attribute to ourselves. That is what makes the Cuban situation difficult, and in some very direct ways better let alone. Indeed, letting it alone has not proved unprofitable. We consider the \$1,350,000,000 worth of American capital sunk in Cuba a safe investment. Cuba sells us more products—mainly sugar—than any other nation in the world save Great Britain and Canada—86 per cent. of her total exports, while she buys 67 per cent. of her imports from us. She does over \$700,000,000 worth of trade a year, a very large amount for 3,000,000 people. The moderate and benevolent policy of the United States toward an island with such resources surely seems well conceived.

HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

Crossing the Windward Passage to the little island with no common name—since the Spaniards called it Hispaniola—whereon lie the dark-hued republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo, one finds a petty, isolated world of racial and political turbulence. Here the imperfections of Cuba are accentuated at almost every point. Cuba is probably 40 per cent. tinged with African blood;

Santo Domingo's proportion is fully 80 per cent.; in Haiti only 5 per cent. of the people have traces of white blood. In Santo Domingo there are the rudiments of a political party system, but, though outwardly conforming to similar arrangements in Cuba, they had produced five revolutions in the six years preceding the American intervention in 1916. In Haiti of six Presidents elected between 1911 and 1915, when we intervened, three of those elected presumably for a seven-year term had been assassinated, two had been exiled (a euphemism for escaped) and one had died in office. The stake in both these countries seems, compared with Cuban figures, incredibly small. The budget of the Dominican Republic's 800,000 people is not much more than \$6,000,000; that of Haiti's \$2,100,000 has recently mounted to \$8,000,000.

Whether under the influence of war psychology or following some definite track of economic necessity—the reasons even now are hard to unravel—the United States, in 1915 and 1916, respectively, virtually invaded Haiti and Santo Domingo, took over their Governments and accepted by virtue of these acts full responsibility for running them for an indefinite period of time. The popular reaction in both countries seems to have developed along much the same lines. First came a general relief, an era of friendly welcome and hopefulness, during which the politicians who had been separated from the custom house disguised their real feelings in the hope that the Americans would soon depart. Then, when the Americans displayed no such intention, a campaign of obstruction broke out in each country, which transferred itself, as it always had, into open rebellion and long months of desultory guerrilla fighting full of unpleasant incidents on both sides. Eventually military resources at home and propagandist resources abroad became exhausted, and a period of accommodation ensued in which for the first time in both countries' history the undisguised satisfaction of the common people over a countryside absolutely at peace played

a part in politics. Though conditions in Haiti and Santo Domingo are absolutely different, that third phase is the one still prevailing in each country. Though hostility to American policy still rankles, and newspapers and the undercurrent of political comment are as un-American as prudence permits, nowhere are Americans personally safer when alone and unarmed. At the same time a great work of civil and constructive help has been and is being accomplished in each country.

One thousand marines are still in Haiti, but their presence in the two principal cities acts only as a precautionary garrison amid a population of two million. Undoubtedly, they keep President Louis Borno, an honest, straightforward man of patriot Haitian ancestry, in the President's chair, and made possible the first peaceable change of the Haitian Presidency in 1922. The real changes in Haiti are being worked out by American civilians like Dr. W. W. Cumberland, who as financial adviser and Receiver General of Customs is endeavoring to make the country solvent. The Commission of Public Works, staffed at the top by twelve technical officers from the United States Navy, is training Haitian engineers, road and bridge builders, municipal sanitary experts and a complete personnel of Haitian assistants in a common endeavor to give and maintain for the country modern communications and rudimentary modern improvements. In the new era of accommodation the Stanley commission is settling Haiti's long and baffling chain of claims that date from far back in the old days; Dr. G. L. Freeman, late of Indo-China, has been lent as an expert on agricultural instruction; and the railroad, half completed in revolutionary days under a monstrous guarantee, is being continued through the fertile centre of the country under much more favorable modern terms accepted by the United States Department of State. Yet in all this hopefulness the governing Americans, led by General Russell, our High Commissioner, do not conceive it their duty to leave yet. The

truth is that the United States has never acquired a stake in Haiti likely to show a profit, and most of them who think in those terms are loath to leave until we do. The Haitian-American Sugar Company, our most imposing attempt, has a fine mill, but lacks the one essential to sugar production—cane. We have tried to grow cotton, but pests hitherto unknown to Haiti have beaten us. The Haitians themselves pick coffee wild, live, in fact, their frugal lives almost entirely through small garden patches or wild crops. Their labor is cheap, and they possess on the average about 10 cents in capital per family. Great schemes of irrigation, the purchase and operation of large tracts of land, cattle raising and similar enterprises are beyond their scope. At the top cultivated families, who have lived for generations out of revolutions or from the custom house and who care little save for a few energetic merchant-farmers of the south, for their country's economic solvency as a source of permanent investment, complete the picture of a truly difficult community for American apostles of progress. Add to these factors the ever-present race prejudice which accompanies Americans everywhere and mars some of our friendliest efforts.

DOMINICANS' BITTERNESS

In Santo Domingo one finds traces of a feeling much more bitter and outspoken. Here a completely American Government ruled the country, instead of a local deputed authority, as in Haiti, and for several years American naval officers served as Cabinet Ministers under a naval or marine chief executive. Then came an interregnum under Sumner Wells, a civilian chief executive from the State Department, who recognized Santo Domingo's differences. Santo Domingo gave Cuba its great liberator, Maximo Gomez, and is close to Cuba in its political complexion, Spanish in thought and speech as Haiti is Creole-French, a proud and ancient landing place of Columbus. The Dominicans bear no burdens on their heads, and they sleep on beds as the

Cubans do, not on floor mats like the Haitians. Across the border you are in a separate nation, and a not particularly friendly one, having been overrun and much darkened by the Haitians for twenty years before the Civil War.

Only a Commissioner of Customs, an office created by President Roosevelt in 1905, remains with a few treaty officials in minor technical posts to safeguard the advances made under the American régime. But the Barahona Company, a really big sugar enterprise on the Cuban model, remains as a stake, and the land it acquired from the Dominicans is protected by tacit provisions of the evacuation treaty, as incidentally are all the acts committed by the Americans during the eight years of occupation. According to present indications, the Dominican debt, due to the sum of about \$14,000,000, will be paid up in about 1928, instead of, as was originally planned, in 1933. In these circumstances Dominican credit, alone among Latin-American debts, is above par. The new President is Horacio Vasquez, while the restored Dominican Congress is as much a credit to the country as can be expected. One of the tests of Dominican probity is the attitude assumed toward John R. Caton, Commissioner of Public Works, an American, whose retention is not specifically provided for under the treaty. If his position is sacrificed to the spoils hunters, then Dominican administration will disclose a drift back to the old days.

PORTO RICO'S SHINING EXAMPLE

After Santo Domingo, and even after Cuba, any American must be thrilled by pride at the sight of Porto Rico. There is no better road system in the United States than the trunk roads which bind this small island into almost one continuous, tightly packed community. The schools planted over the island, flying the Stars and Stripes, have reduced illiteracy among the younger generation from some 75 per cent. to about 30 per cent. in twenty years. The people are the most industrious, alert and progres-

sive in the West Indies, though scourged with tropical diseases and hampered by a density of population which ranks ahead of Japan's and is five times that of Cuba, being 330 to the square mile. But the greatest difference is in the politics. Porto Rico has its party bosses, but stealing from the public treasury, as compared with other Caribbean examples, is a lost art. Every man on the street in Cuba either gloats over public speculation or, if he be an "out," arraigns it as a national evil. In Porto Rico no such absence of shame is visible. Taken by and large, the Senate and House, the executive posts, the Judgeships—the majority of the Supreme Court is Porto Rican—and the minor administrative offices are filled by men who would do corresponding credit to their offices in any American State. The man who has been political "boss" of Porto Rico for ten years, Antonio Barcelo, President of the Senate, is a comparatively poor man. Horace M. Towner, Governor of Porto Rico after many years as Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs in the House, is sincerely satisfied that his Porto Rican colleagues in the Government, political considerations everywhere being taken into account, are honest and in a manner far above the example of any other Latin-American commonwealth. We have sent distinguished Americans to Porto Rico to be Governors, Commissioners of Education, auditors and Attorneys General, the only four posts under Porto Rico's practical autonomy left to our Executive appointment, and the observer feels that Porto Ricans have appreciated their efforts.

What of those little Virgin Islands, the outermost fringe of our possessions, out beyond Porto Rico, the tree dots of islands bought from Denmark at a very exorbitant rate to save them from Germany? In the West Indies it is usually a rule that "the lesser the land the greater the problem," and insignificant as they are, these islands still present a most difficult problem. St. Thomas was the little island with the magnificent harbor that caused all the trouble, but when it was bought the navy discov-

ered that it could hold only three battleships, St. Croix, a much larger island, a typical West India sugar and rum island, together with the comparatively uninhabited and useless St. John, merely went with St. Thomas. Yet the naval administration has energetically set to work to bring the school system, the municipal services and the business prospects of the islands up to something like their conception of an American standard. This has involved their hurting the pride of the great majority of the 26,000 people, who are English-speaking negroes, among whom it is the current fashion to compare American ways very unfavorably with the much easier manners of the Danes, whose treatment of the color problem did not reach the stark American standard. We have, however, really begun a patient and productive endeavor to restore to progress islands which had hardly developed at all for seventy-five years. Regretfully abandoning the rum trade, St. Croix has started to follow Porto Rico's example and turn sugar waste into grain alcohol. St. Thomas has had to medicate its bay rum, a sad blow to a pure product, almost the only industry of the island; but, as most of its trade is with the United States, that is a diminishing handicap. Vexatious and bureaucratic restrictions on shipping are still suspended over St. Thomas's

once world-famous trade, but Americans cannot always treat this island without imagination. Only a few Virgin Islanders have the vote in this still feudal community, and the planters fear American citizenship—still withheld—will bring about a political leveling, of which very energetic negro agitators and trade union leaders have already given them a foretaste. Very soon the Government of the Virgin Islands, improvised only temporarily in 1917, must be reorganized on a basis much more fitting as a permanent possession of the American people.

From Havana to St. Thomas American penetration in the West Indies thus runs across many divergent longitudes of political and racial complexity, which have not yet been resolved in any common policy and which suffer in various degrees of acuteness from a still deep and unneighborly American ignorance of Caribbean ways. Porto Rico proves that we can win Spanish-American friendliness, and Cuba proves that we can win it and still respect national boundaries. Santo Domingo shows that we can evacuate when we make a promise, and Haiti gives hope that American civil aid may soon make that promise worth making. One can see the growth of accommodation and better understanding which did not seem possible in 1917, still less so in 1921.



Filipino Leaders' Split on Independence Issue

By NORBERT LYONS

Secretary of the United States Mission of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands

AFTER eighteen months of vain effort to bring about the recall or retirement of Leonard Wood as Governor-General of the Philippines, Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, and his political followers have acknowledged defeat and resumed working in harmony and cooperation with the chief executive.

In the Spring of 1924, it will be remembered, a special "parliamentary mission" of the Philippine Independence Commission visited the United States with the avowed object of scattering broadcast its allegations against the "arbitrary" and "militaristic" rule of General Wood, in the hope of discrediting him with the American people and the Washington Administration and thus bringing about his retirement. Six months later these same crusaders, comprising the flower of Filipino political life, returned to Manila crestfallen and disillusioned. Not only had they failed of their main objective, but, much to their surprise, their secondary objective, the Fairfield Autonomy bill, which they had advocated and supported while in the United States, had met with no favor among their countrymen. Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas, in fact, found themselves obliged to assume the defensive and explain away their activities in Washington with reference to the Fairfield bill.

The Filipino Parliamentary Mission to the United States was composed of the three leaders of the majority Nationalist-Consolidated Party, Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas and the young floor leader of the minority Democratic Party, Claro M. Recto. The Democrats had protested loudly against the overwhelmingly Nationalist complexion of previous independence missions and since the Democrats had command of

fully one-third of the Philippine House of Representatives, a place on the mission was given to Recto. After the mission left the Islands little, if any, attention was paid to Recto, which in the end nearly proved disastrous for the other three members. Upon the mission's return to Manila, Recto sprang a sensation in the Independence Commission by uttering charges of double-dealing and faithlessness to the independence cause against his confrères, which they found difficult and most embarrassing to answer.

Speaker Roxas left for the United States some weeks in advance of Quezon and Osmeña. This was due to the fact that in the 1922 election Quezon had broken with Osmeña and formed a new party, the Collectivist, after accusing Osmeña of "ini-personal" domination of the old Nationalist Party, which had controlled Philippine political life since 1907. These two parties took the field against the Democratic Party, the latter electing a greater number of members of the lower house than either of the other two. In the fight for the

Mr. Lyons, a graduate of City College of New York, after serving as a Government surveyor in the Philippines, became a reporter on The Manila Cablenews-American and was successively Washington correspondent of The Manila Daily Bulletin, city editor and editor of The Manila Daily Bulletin, editor of The Manila Cablenews-American, editor and publisher of The Spotlight, a Manila weekly; editor of The American Chamber of Commerce Journal, Manila, and editor of The Manila Times, retiring from that position in 1924. He was also Philippine correspondent of The New York Evening Post, acting Philippine correspondent of The London Times, and from 1914 to 1924 Philippine correspondent of The New York Times. In 1924 he became a member and the Secretary of the United States Mission of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, which position he now holds. In 1916 he was Philippine delegate to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis. He has contributed to many leading newspapers and magazines and is the author of "Lays of Sergeant Con" (verse), Manila, 1914; "Later Days of Sergeant Con," Manila, 1922, and "The Philippine Problem Viewed From a New Angle," Manila, 1924.

speakership, a deadlock resulted, which was broken only when the two Nationalist factions that opposed the Democrats combined and elected Roxas. A working combination of these two factions was thus formed, but they had never been formally reunited, and when the time came for sending a parliamentary mission to the United States, neither Osmeña, who led the old Nationalist faction, nor Quezon, who was head of the Collectivist schism, desired to go and leave the other behind. It was decided, therefore, to effect a formal and tight reunion and reconciliation of the two separated wings of the Nationalist Party, so that both leaders could go to the United States. The principal difficulty in the way of this procedure was the choice of a name for the reunited party. It took a month to decide this question, and it would seem that Osmeña won, for the rehabilitated party was called the Nationalist-Consolidated Party. This matter being set-

tled, Quezon and Osmeña set sail for the United States, where they joined Roxas.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST GENERAL WOOD

The Parliamentary Mission soon discovered that the campaign for the recall of General Wood was a hopeless undertaking. President Coolidge's letter to Speaker Roxas on Feb. 21, 1924, had effectively disposed of any possibilities in that direction. The Filipino emissaries saw that a false move had been made the previous Summer in bringing up the issue, for General Wood continued to enjoy the complete confidence of the Washington Administration and of the leading organs of American opinion. Yet some show of keeping up the campaign had to be made to satisfy the followers of Quezon and Osmeña in the islands, who implicitly believed in their leaders' ability to have the Governor General removed from office. At the same time as Osmeña was bitterly attacking General Wood before the Resolutions Committee of the Republican National Convention, in private he was excusing his action on the ground that it was forced upon him. I happened to be in Cleveland at the time and was one of the Americans to whom he imparted this information. Recto afterward showed that immediately after the convention Osmeña asked General McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to convey to General Wood his apologies for making that speech.

The members of the Parliamentary Mission, instead of exerting very strenuous efforts to press the anti-Wood campaign, devoted themselves toward securing the passage of the bill introduced by Louis W. Fairfield of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives. As this bill, or rather its advocacy by the Parliamentary Mission, became an important issue in the Philippine campaign preceding the June election, its provisions acquired considerable interest. The bill called for the adoption of a constitution by a Filipino constitutional convention, which constitution,



GENERAL LEONARD WOOD
Governor General of the Philippine Islands

providing for a complete autonomous government under a Filipino Governor General, would be ratified by the people of the Philippines and approved by the President and Congress of the United States. A United States Commissioner to the Commonwealth of the Philippines would be appointed by the President to represent the President in the islands, but exercising no executive functions in the Commonwealth Government, his principal duty being to act as observer and render official reports to the President and Congress. The Commonwealth, to be known as the Republic of the Philippine Islands, would assume all continuing obligations assumed by the United States under the treaty of peace with Spain, but its foreign affairs would be exclusively in the control of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States would continue its present jurisdiction over the courts of the islands. The President of the United States could at any time take over and operate at the expense of the Commonwealth any executive or administrative department or function of the Commonwealth. The United States would undertake to recognize the independence of the Commonwealth twenty years after its inauguration.

The Fairfield bill was the product of two of Quezon's friends, American residents of New York who formerly lived in the Philippines, where they have large interests. Upon the arrival of the parliamentary mission in New York the authors of the bill discussed it in detail with the Filipino leaders. In the meantime the measure had already been introduced in its original form in the House of Representatives and had been taken up by the Committee on Insular Affairs, which decided to hold hearings on it. These hearings were held in Washington from April 30 to May 6, 1924. Many friends of the Fairfield bill and Quezon were heard, and the committee finally reported the measure favorably on May 10, including certain amendments suggested by the Filipino leaders. Then began the manoeuvres on the part of the Parliamentary Mission

to have the measure ratified by the Philippine Legislature and the Filipino people. Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas had told the Congressional committee members that the bill would prove acceptable to the Filipinos and that its passage would end all agitation for independence, since it specifically provided for independence in twenty years. Much to their surprise, the first prominent Filipino to express his disapproval of the Fairfield bill was none other than General Emilio Aguinaldo, who for more than twenty years had scrupulously refrained from mixing in Philippine politics, although his sympathies were known to be with the Democratic Party. When the members of the mission learned of Aguinaldo's opposition to the Fairfield bill they knew it was lost at home. I happened to be in the same room with Osmeña soon after he received the news by cable. "We would like to stop this constant agitation and reach some agreement with the Americans," he said to me, "but how can we do so when our political opponents and General Aguinaldo go against us in such a matter as the Fairfield bill?"

FAIRFIELD BILL UNPOPULAR

Following Aguinaldo's lead the native press, with only one or two exceptions, came out strongly against the Fairfield bill. Aguinaldo's stand was that the period precedent to independence was too long; that it should have been made four years instead of twenty years. A considerable majority of his countrymen followed his lead in that position. Quezon made every possible effort to arouse public sentiment in favor of the Fairfield bill, but without success. It became apparent that he had made another false move, for which he would have to answer on his return to Manila. He had gone even so far as to assure the Secretary of War that if the Administration endorsed the Fairfield bill the Philippine Legislature would do so. Secretary Weeks, however, turned the argument on Quezon, telling him that if the Philippine Legislature first endorsed the measure the Administration



Wide World Photos

Governor General Wood, with Father Policarpio Villafranco on one side and General Aguinaldo on the other, visiting the town of Indang in the Philippines

would make every possible effort to have it enacted into law. The Presidential campaign was then in progress in the United States, but Quezon apparently did not want to bring the independence issue out forcibly. The Democratic platform had a plank advocating complete immediate independence. Instead of remaining in this country and working for the success of the Democratic ticket, which would have been the logical thing to do, the Parliamentary Mission for Independence suddenly decided that a trip to Europe was necessary.

It is interesting to note that shortly after Quezon and Osmeña arrived in Europe Osmeña visited the Pope and had a private interview with him. Resident Commissioner Galbadon previously had made a similar pilgrimage to Rome. Quezon, who is one of the leading Masons in the Philippines, did not visit Rome, but proceeded to Geneva to attend the meetings of the League of Nations, where he was afterward joined by Osmeña. At Geneva the Filipino emissaries looked into the matter of ob-

taining some representation in the League of Nations. This was a bold gesture, in view of the fact that the United States was not a member of the League, but it proved futile. Acting on its own initiative, the Philippine Bureau of Labor addressed an application for membership to the International Labor Bureau of the League. An unofficial reply suggested that if the United States would become a member of the League it could apply for a mandate over the islands, and thus shift responsibility for their future upon the League and at the same time end the independence agitation. That reply was a great disappointment to the Filipinos, as they aspired to a status similar to that of Ireland in the League. The suggestion of a mandate was a blow to their pride, while the statement by Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, regarding British direction of Ireland's foreign policies, irrespective of her status as a member of the League of Nations, was not without its effect.

An attempt was also made by the Filipinos to obtain membership in the

Parliamentary Union, but the Governor General vetoed an appropriation of \$50,000 for the purpose in the last appropriation bill, pointing out that the United States was still the sovereign nation in the islands and that the Philippines had no right to join the union as a nation. He explained, however, that if it so desired the Washington Government could name a Filipino as a member of the United States delegation to the union. Another purpose in the European trip of the mission was the establishment of intimate friendly relations with European Governments in preparation for an independent status. This was solemnly explained by Osmeña soon after his return to Manila. He pointed out the fact that independence would mean the abolition of the existing free-trade relations with America and that it would then become incumbent upon the new Filipino Government to find other markets for Philippine raw products and new sources of supply.

Roxas returned to Manila in time to preside over the House of Representatives during the latter part of the annual session of the Philippine Legislature, while Quezon and Osmeña reached Manila just as the session closed. They found popular sentiment among the Filipinos very much against the Fairfield bill, and a final effort to swing the Legislature into line for the measure failed completely. The decision of the legislators was to come out for immediate, absolute independence. The animus against Governor General Wood had meanwhile been entirely forgotten. Both Quezon and Osmeña were in constant conference with the Governor General and the legislative program was discussed thoroughly and dispassionately. Although no really constructive legislation was passed by the Legislature, some sixty or more bills were approved and General Wood in some measure succeeded in having his program adopted. It was a much more peaceful and satisfactory conclusion to the session than that of the year before.

Demands for a report on the work of the parliamentary mission became insistent among the members of the Independence Commission, consisting of the members of the Legislature, *ex officio*. Accordingly, a meeting of the Independence Commission to hear the report of the parliamentary mission was set for Nov. 18, 1924, eight days after the close of the legislative session and a few days after the return from the United States of Recto, who announced that he dissented from the reports being circulated by the majority members of the mission, now posing as staunch opponents of the Fairfield plan. Conferences on the report of the mission were held by its members and it soon became evident that the versions of the majority and minority delegations would differ. Quezon exerted every possible effort to win Recto to his side, but the Democratic floor leader remained firm and announced that he would present a minority report at the meeting of the Independence Commission of Nov. 18. Public interest in the meeting was aroused to fever pitch and the session hall was packed when the meeting opened. A sensation was expected, and it came.

CHARGES OF DUPLICITY

After the majority report of the mission was read, Recto rose to object, stating that he would submit a dissenting report in writing. Then for an hour and a half he made an impassioned speech, attacking the majority report and substantiating his charges by extracts from confidential letters sent by Major Gen. Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Insular Bureau in Washington, to Governor General Wood. How or where Recto obtained this correspondence was not known, but as it was published in all the Manila papers and no protest against such publication appeared subsequently, it was presumed that it was used by Recto with the consent of the parties concerned. Recto, in brief, accused Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas of double-dealing toward the Filipino people, both as regards these dele-



General Wood, accompanied by Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, and Sergio Osmeña, Speaker of the House of Representatives, leaving the Philippine University after receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws

gates' relations with Governor General Wood and their attitude toward the Fairfield bill. He denied the claim of the majority that they had worked for the recall of Governor General Wood, in accordance with the instructions given them by the Independence Commission, and also denied their claim that they had vigorously opposed the Fairfield bill. His strongest arguments were the following extracts from letters written by Major Gen. McIntyre to Governor General Wood:

On the morning of May 17 Mr. Quezon, accompanied by Messrs. Roxas and Osmeña, came to the bureau. Mr. Quezon, who was the spokesman, had strong desires of seeing the Secretary of War, and to take up extensively the matter which he proposed to discuss. He said that he believed the period of fifteen years was best for the Philippines and for the people and their private interests, for he would be able to get, without doubt, the support of the same in the Islands. He said he could not, in his belief, support the propo-

sition of twenty-five years unless he is assured of the approval of the bill. If he is given such assurance he would openly support the bill. * * *

If the Secretary of War or the President could obtain from the leaders of Congress assurances that the Fairfield bill would be approved, he and the other members of the mission would support it openly here and in the islands. If the leaders of Congress were of the opinion that the bill would not pass, then he would ask the Secretary of War to write a letter worded similarly to the one herein attached and dated May 17, which he would make confidential use of in the Philippines with a view to obtaining, if such were possible, a resolution of the Legislature endorsing the Fairfield bill, and then he would return later to obtain from Congress in its coming session the approval of the said bill with the aid of the Administration. * * *

I am enclosing copies of the speech of Senator — in the Committee on Resolutions at the New York Democratic Convention. The speeches of the other mission leaders I have already sent the other day.

You will note that Senator —'s speech

in New York is devoid of severe tone, unlike his address in Cleveland. His militant speech was forced upon him by uncontrollable circumstances. He came to the bureau and wished me to offer his apology to you. I hope this will be as great a satisfaction to you as it is to the Administration. * * *

You will be interested to know that both of them (Quezon and Osmeña) assured me and the Secretary of War that they would cooperate with you as soon as they get there for the sake of the public good. They are now convinced that harmony in government is necessary if the good of their people is to be served. The Administration told them that no grant of more autonomy would be considered unless they show an attitude of cooperation. With these positive assurances of support I hope you can better serve the interests of the Filipino people by constructive legislation and development of the islands.

LEADERS' DISSENT

The three accused leaders rose to their feet and in bitter language voiced their resentment at and dissent from Recto's charges. Their defense was not very convincing, but party discipline prevailed, and when the vote on the adoption of the majority report was reached all the followers of Quezon and Osmeña voted in favor of adopting the report in full, praising the majority members of the mission for their work in the United States and characterizing as "discreet and patriotic" their attitude in "declining to support the Fairfield bill." The minority members voted against the majority report. A resolution demanding "immediate, absolute, complete independence" was unanimously adopted.

The Democrats now began inquiring into the expenditures incurred by the Parliamentary Mission. Previously Representative Gregorio Perfecto, a member of the committee in charge of the "independence fund" collected by popular subscription, had announced that each of the mission members had received an allowance of \$900 for clothes in addition to expenses apart from transportation, amounting to \$90 a day for Quezon and Roxas and \$45 a day for Osmeña and Recot. Announcement was made that the expenses of the

mission had been \$150,000 for their trip, lasting six months or so. At the same time it was announced that the fund was getting so low that some of the activities of the independence commission in Manila and Washington would have to be curtailed. Inquiries as to the exact status of the fund have so far proved unavailing. At the conclusion of the independence drive in May, 1924, it was officially stated that about 640,000 pesos (\$320,000) had been raised. This announcement, however, was always taken with a grain of salt by well-informed observers. If \$320,000 was collected it would seem as though there were no necessity for drastic economy with only \$150,000 spent by the Parliamentary Mission.

The \$500,000 annual independence fund was killed by Insular Auditor Ben F. Wright. The last appropriation bill, however, contained an item of \$50,000 for the payment of 'expenses of legislators in presenting petitions to Congress. General Wood approved this item on the condition that none of this money be used for propaganda purposes; that none but members of the Philippine Legislature participate in these trips; that they be to the United States only, and that the expenses be limited to \$6 a day for each person. He vetoed an item of \$50,000 for the establishment of a permanent independence propaganda office as a division of "legislative investigations."

The campaign for the general election in June began with the Fairfield bill as the chief subject of discussion, the issue, however, being not whether the bill ought to be approved (for that is a closed question), but whether Quezon, Osmeña and Roxas supported the bill during their trip to the United States during the Summer of 1924. Recto gained an initial advantage by placing the old leaders on the defensive. The situation was also complicated by the fact that Quezon's and Osmeña's followers were not united in the field, candidates of both factions being placed in the field on the Nationalist-Consolidated ticket.

The Influx of Aliens Into France

By JOHN GLEASON O'BRIEN

Former Vice Consul of the United States to Rome

THE post-war difficulties which beset the world seem to increase with the passing of time. Though the traditional practice of resorting to arms for their settlement is on the wane, the problems of an economic and social nature calling for solution present many difficult aspects. One of these problems—a most vital one, is that of immigration.

The war over, European eyes turned toward America for succor. The newly established continental boundaries dispossessed thousands from their homes. Subjects of one nation found that overnight they had become citizens of another, and sometimes a heretofore unheard-of country. The instinct of self-preservation turned these hordes into pilgrims searching for shelter, for food, and in most cases, for their very lives. In a word, they became refugees. How they have existed has yet to be ascertained. No doubt American gold played no small part, for among the unfortunates were many possessing relatives in the United States.

Most of them believed with a blind faith that coming to America would solve all their problems. To get here, where opportunities abound, was the goal to be attained at any price. But here in the United States we found that our own people must be protected against this influx from Europe. We found that it behooved us to guard the advantages secured by our independence. The first requisite was to keep out the undesirables. We, too, would risk chaos, it seemed, unless the stream of immigration was dammed, and that without loss of time.

One country in Europe—France—has also had to face the immigration prob-

lem, but she has solved it in exactly the opposite way, and in solving it she has been helped by the new immigration policy of the United States. While the United States found it necessary to adopt legislation limiting the immigration of foreigners, France, because of the depletion of her population through the World War, and other causes, adopted the policy of encouraging the immigration of foreign labor. The most important cause was the great loss of man-power due to the war. In addition, the great public works now under way in rehabilitation of that war-torn country, daily work on which is limited by war to eight hours, have attracted a large number of farm laborers from the country. The drift toward the cities, which has been accentuated in recent years, has also contributed to make the supply of agricultural laborers insufficient.

Though the importation of unskilled labor was unrestricted before the war, it is at present subject to strict Governmental regulations, which include not only supervision within the country, but a number of international conventions to regulate conditions under which imported laborers shall work. Of these there exist at the present time three, one with Italy of Sept. 3, 1919; one with Poland of the same date, and one with Czechoslovakia, of March 20, 1920. In general, the provisions of these agreements require that the immigrants shall have perfect equality of treatment with French laborers, so far as wages and accident insurance are concerned.

An illustration of the sort of regulations in force may be taken from the convention with Poland. Recruitment of Polish laborers by individuals in Po-

land is prohibited, this activity being made a State monopoly. In case an employer is already acquainted with a Polish laborer, he may present to the French labor office a paper indicating the conditions of the work which he proposes to undertake and the name of the proposed contract, which is sent to the laborer and by him presented to the Consul of France in whose district the Polish laborer lives. The Consul then visas the document and the immigrant may go directly to his employment station in France. Where a group of laborers is to be secured, the French employers must present a request to the labor office setting forth facts similar to those submitted in the case of individuals. If the request is approved, it is transmitted to the French agent in Poland, who turns it over to the Polish labor service, by which the workmen requested are turned over to the French authorities.

The traveling expenses of the imported laborers—200 francs per workman in the case of those from Poland—are paid into the labor office at the same time that the request for labor is made, and the laborers are taken on at the risk of the employer, though the latter may send to Poland a representative accredited by the French labor service to aid in the selection of the men to be taken on. Representatives of this sort have been sent to Poland by the Comité des Houillères (Coal Owners' Committee) and by the General Confederation of Agricultural Associations. The typical labor contract contains a clause specifying the conditions under which the laborer shall be sent back to his home country. It also requires that he submit to medical examination. Because of the refusal of Germany to allow Polish immigrants to pass over its territory, they have to come by sea to Dunkirk, one of the channel ports. The conditions of the Czechoslovakian agreement are substantially the same as in the case of Poland.

The Italian Government in its agreement made it clear that no recruitment

of labor in Italy is to be allowed, and even refused to allow the employer to have a representative to aid in the selection of men.

Besides the formal agreements mentioned above, verbal arrangements were made with Great Britain and Switzerland for bringing in foreign laborers. Immigration from other countries was not made the subject of governmental regulation, and workmen can be taken on at will by the employers, subject only to compliance with the rules adopted by the French Government to assure the immigrants fair treatment.

ITALIAN INVASION OF GASCONY

In Europe, of all the countries affected by our decision to restrict immigration, Italy suffered the most. Here was a nation which, at a terrible cost of human life, contributed to the success of the allied cause. With the reduction in the quota of Italians admissible to the United States, Italy, which is vastly overpopulated and economically not self-sufficient, found herself facing the problem of placing her surplus manpower, for, despite the fact that she suffered heavy casualties in fighting, her reserve of virile and hard-working men remained too large for absorption within the peninsula and she had few colonies to which her subjects might emigrate. England and France had troubles of their own, and even though they had been partners in arms, could not render practical and prompt assistance. America had practically shut her gates. What should be done with this human surplus, this export of brain and brawn? To this problem the Fascist Government applied itself.

Nature seemed to have helped, at least in part, and encouraged Italy to start a penetration of France. "The Latin Sisters," as Europeans are wont to refer to France and Italy, were in a position, it developed, to assist each other. France, with the Germans subjugated, found herself, as stated, with depleted man-power, with a heavy labor shortage on her farms and in her mines, a low birth-rate and many migrations

from the rural districts to the larger cities.

The historic and picturesque region of Southwest France known as Gascony witnessed the Italian invasion. Thus this district, famed in song and story, once more plays its part in the history of France, and indications are that the entire economic future of the region will be affected as a result of this Italian invasion. Gascony comprises the Department of the Gironde and those adjoining it, the Landes, Lot et Garonne and Gers. Gironde has a population of more than 800,000 and comprises more than 2,000,000 acres. Landes boasts 250,000 inhabitants and, like the Gironde, more than 2,000,000 acres. Lot et Garonne has a population of 300,000 and the comparatively small area of 1,300,000 acres. Gers has a population of 250,000 distributed over an area of more than 1,500,000 acres.

It will be seen, therefore, that the entire area averages nearly 8,000,000 acres and contains a population of something like 1,650,000. In the Gironde the land is chiefly used for viticulture. About half of the total population of the department resides in Bordeaux and its suburbs. The department of the Landes is sparsely populated, owing to the immense area taken up by the pine forests. In the Lot et Garonne there is rich agricultural and horticultural land besides extensive forests. Agriculture and stock-raising are the chief industries in the Department of Gers.

The French have noted with keen interest the changes which have taken place in recent months. These departments are rapidly being depleted of their French rural population. Simultaneously, but at a much slower rate, immigrants of foreign nationalities are settling in the agricultural districts in Gascony, not only as farm laborers, but also as owners of land. During the past year the movement of the native farmers away from the soil has assumed alarming proportions. It indicates a grave situation, to the French at least—namely, the growth of discontent with

life on the farms and the exodus therefrom to the cities.

From 1911 to 1924 the agricultural population diminished by 23,000 inhabitants in the Department of the Gironde. Lot et Garonne lost 17,000 and Gers 18,000. Landes reported that 19,000 persons had abandoned the actual working of their farms. A total of 77,000 cultivators has thus been lost to a region which lived from cultivation of the soil.

The result was that farms were deprived of laborers; there was a consequent decrease in the area cultivated and in the crop returns. Some farm owners were obliged to sell in order to place their capital elsewhere. Meanwhile the exodus of the peasants to the towns brought about an oversupply of labor in industries, trades and professions. The few French farmers who held on to their farms in the face of the peasant evacuation had their troubles in obtaining labor. A partial solution was found in the influx of foreign workers. Even before the war it had been found necessary to import farm laborers from outside the local departments. Numerous farm hands came from Rouergue, Quercy, Vendée, Brittany, Charentes, Savoy and Haute-Loire. These sources were soon exhausted, and it was then that France looked toward Italy. As the result of action taken by private initiative and by the Government, there began the flow of Italian immigration into the region. It speedily renewed the population on the farms and began to bring to properties formerly abandoned the prosperity to which they were entitled by reason of the richness of the soil.

ITALY'S QUOTA NEARLY 30,000

During the first half of 1924 the number of emigrants departing from Italian shores was 210,848, as compared with 190,184 during the corresponding six months of 1923. This increase of more than 20,000 was very gratifying to the Italian Government, which endeavored to facilitate the outflow of Italy's surplus population in the face of

numerous difficulties, and it was believed that this new movement would fully offset the decline in emigration during the last half of 1924 as a result of new restrictions placed on Italian emigration to the United States.

The total emigration figure for the first half of 1924—210,848—is the product of both overseas and Continental emigration. Overseas emigration reached a total of 65,912 during the first six months of 1924, as against 62,997 in the same period of 1923. The increase was divided mainly between the United States, Central America and Australia. Departures for the Argentine and Brazil were fewer. Continental emigration from Italy rose from 127,187 during the first half of 1923 to 144,936 during the first half of 1924. The main current was toward France—124,000 in 1924—and showed an increase of about 19,000. Switzerland took 7,400, or 2,000 more than the previous year. Decreases were noted in emigration to Great Britain, Belgium, Yugoslavia and other Balkan States.

Statistics are available of the number of imported immigrants into France who were placed in employment through the Government bureaus, but a greater proportion came in response to private enterprise, and these figures can only be approximated. The Department of Gers, for example, reported officially 7,858 foreigners now engaged in agriculture. They were mostly Italians, though a small number of Spaniards, Swiss, Portuguese and Armenians were also represented. This was an increase of 2,616 foreigners as compared with the year 1921. In the Gironde there were 10,000 foreigners engaged in farming in 1911. In 1921 this number had increased to 25,000 and in 1924 to 30,000. The Department of Landes showed a decided increase. In 1924 the total of foreigners exceeded 3,000, as compared with 515 in 1911. In Lot et Garonne the number rose from 3,000 to 7,000 in a like period.

In other words, Italy contributed nearly 30,000 persons to fill the gap caused by the decrease of 77,000 in the

size of the French agricultural population in the four departments. Allowing an additional 3,000 for French farm hands who came from other departments, the total of the deficit still amounts to the very considerable number of 44,000.

The French attitude toward the Italian laborers is one of satisfaction. The Italians have proved by far the most efficient of all foreigners. They brought with them new ideas, which in many cases were decided improvements on some of the methods which the French farmers had followed for generations. For this reason alone they often produced better results than the native workmen, who are too much attached to traditional methods. In Gers some Spaniards proved successful, but generally speaking the Italians clearly dominated. They are prolific and their numbers are increasing. The Italians, because of the fact that their civilization is akin to that of France, conform to local usages with great facility. They not only show an excellent spirit in their relations with their employers, but they tend to merge with the local population. There is no reason why there should not be a complete fusion through intermarriage. The French believe that these Italian immigrants will in time become good Frenchmen.

Furthermore, the Italians are buying land and attaching themselves to the soil. Figures prove this, for in the Department of Lot et Garonne alone 300 Italian families had permanently settled, having purchased over 60,000 acres of land which they were exploiting. The movement was growing, and the booking agencies dealing with Italian immigrants were receiving an increasing amount of business. An Italian bank found it profitable to establish a branch at Agen, in Lot et Garonne. This branch bank supervises the affairs of its nationals in regard to the purchase of land, cattle and agricultural implements. In certain localities near the border of Gers the attendance at the churches is so largely composed of Italians that the Sunday sermons are

preached in the Italian language. In such a manner is Italy invading France and the latter country profiting thereby: and America is indirectly responsible for this situation.

OTHER RACES INCLUDED IN INFLUX

Other nations besides Italy, however, are contributing to fill the breach. During 1922, 180,000 foreign workmen were introduced into France and 50,000 left the country. This represents a high total as compared with 1921, when, because of the industrial crises, only 25,000 workmen entered France, while 62,500 left the country. In this year those involved in the movement of labor into and from France were chiefly Italians and Spaniards. Since then the change in the direction of the flow of common labor and the increase in the demand in France have led to the inclusion in the total of a number of other nations, viz.: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Switzerland, Russia, Belgium, Greece and North Africa.

The movement which was under way in 1922 continued during 1923, and a tendency developed for the utilization of foreigners in an increasing number of industries, including iron mining, coal mining, metal working, agriculture and building. The total number who entered and left the country during 1923 cannot yet be stated. The weekly reports of the *Journal Officiel* indicated, however, that during November, 1923, about 4,500 foreign workmen entered and about 1,300 left the country weekly.

The emigration of workmen from Poland and especially from the Polish part of Upper Silesia into France, which has grown steadily since the beginning of 1924, has, according to available statistics, recently taken on considerable proportions. These figures showed that the Polish Passport Office was issuing about 500 passports a day for workmen going to France. On the other hand, the statistics of the French Ministry of Labor showed that Polish immigration since the beginning of 1924 totaled 43,544 in August, 1924.

One of the clauses in the 1925 French budget proposal which, at the time these pages went to press, was being considered in the French Parliament, provides for the establishment of a new and efficient system of control over the foreign labor which is being introduced into France from Central and Eastern Europe. Official advices state that if this clause of the French finance bill is voted, a permanent organization will be created under the title of the "National Office of Foreign Labor." It is reckoned that while the yearly increase of population stands at its present figure, only 100,000 in excess of the deaths, the country will be unable to do without foreign workers. Even before the war France absorbed a certain number of immigrants, about half a million; the number increased by 200,000 in 1921, and now, balancing the arrivals and departures, it is estimated that there are 1,400,000 foreign workers earning wages in the country.

THE POLISH ELEMENT

In beginning to repair war damages it was the policy of the French Government to rehabilitate first agriculture and industry, since these would lead more quickly to economic recovery. Most of this recovery was made possible by the influx of foreign labor. The Italians, far outnumbering other nationals, opted principally for agriculture in Southern France. The Poles, next in importance, together with the Czechoslovaks, migrated mainly to the rich mining departments of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, where they engaged in coal and iron mining, as was their custom at home.

The Swiss in France are found in engineering pursuits or hotel service generally; the comparatively few Spaniards are tilling the soil, while the Belgians are being employed in industrial occupations. The immigration of Russians has had little effect on the restoration of France's condition, since these people migrated merely for shelter and took employment where they found it,

regardless of their training and experience, and nearly all with the fervent hope of ultimately returning to a more peaceful Russia. The World War gave the French colored colonials their real opportunity of visiting France. Their stay is indefinite, however, for with their inability to acclimate themselves and to adapt themselves to the customs of France their return home is inevitable, even in spite of the equal rights proffered by the French.

All in all, it can safely be said that with the exception of the Italians and the Poles the immigrants to France are using France as a means to an end and that at a more propitious time they will return to their native countries. In the case of Italians, undoubtedly the

majority of them will remain in France, first, because the customs and climate are so similar to those of the home land, and second, because their opportunities in Italy are so limited. The Poles, an assimilable people par excellence, will unquestionably fare better in France than in Poland, a country undergoing growing pains as an aftermath of the war, and should in large numbers become good citizens of France. Some instances indicate that the Government is trying to select its immigrants, and we are told unofficially that the Herriot régime is watching closely the workings of our own restricted immigration policy with a view to instituting a similar system now that rehabilitation is nearly complete.

Benito Mussolini—

Italy's Opportunist Dictator

By ROBERT SENCOURT

American publicist, now residing at Fiesole, Italy

EVERY politician is either an opportunist or a fanatic. Some perhaps are both, but if a choice is necessary there can be little doubt which applies best to Benito Mussolini, head of the Fascist Government of Italy. As one reads his speeches one rarely finds a single principle enunciated; there is an assertion of national solidarity, an intention to clear up the difficulties in which Italy found herself, a resolution not to lose the results of victory; but one can hardly find a word of solid constructive thought. When Italy accepted Mussolini she was ready for a Premier who meant to act. She was weary of the attempt at a government of talk, even if the talk implied thought and thoughtful criticism; she wanted resolution.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan, the greatest authority outside Italy on Italian history, once said, when lecturing at

Oxford, that Italy had always shown the will of the people, not by a constitutional act, but by a demonstration in the street, or, as he said, a "row in the piazza" [public square]. In February, 1922, Italy remained a whole month without any one being able to form a Government; no Government before that had lasted more than a few months. The one that was then formed lasted only a few months. Meanwhile the Communists had tried to set up a sort of Bolshevik communism in Italy. Communism has not in Italian the sinister sound it has in England or America. We are all much inclined to be mesmerized by words, and their suggestions have over our minds more power than we realize. Communism in English suggests a system of having all things common, a system anathematized in the Episcopalian articles of religion and perilous to the principles of business by which



Wide World Photos

BENITO MUSSOLINI

the United States and the British Empire live. But in Italian the word is far more innocent, for it connotes the commune, which is the unit of administration, and points rather to the solidarity of local society. But even though it was helped in this way, communism has failed in Italy. Fear of imitating Russia, the power of the Catholic Church, the memories of victory, the rise of prices, the recurring discomfort of strikes, all inclined Italy to distrust communism, socialism and everything connected with them. The intercourse of her greatest political idealist and philosopher, Francesco Nitti, with international financiers appeared to be influential in this result. To find the value of one's savings falling, to have one's lights going out just as one is sit-

ting down to supper, or to have one's trams or trains stopping and leaving one in the heat while mechanics shrug their shoulders; to know the national debt is increasing, and to see profiteers meanwhile growing richer and stirring up the dust with luxurious but noisy cars, seemed to many Italians convincing evidence that it was time "to kick up a row in the piazza."

MUSSOLINI'S CREATION OF FASCISMO

Mussolini saw his opportunity. With a gift for writing and speaking, and a newspaper under his control, he organized a body of demobilized soldiers, assisted by a number of youths who did not know what to do with themselves, and these, with the help generally of sticks but now and then of a knife or a revolver, would enter a restaurant or a shop and take possession till the prices were brought down to a point within reasonable proportion to the people's means, or would drive the tram or train which tramwaymen or railwaymen refused to manoeuvre. These organized bodies,

springing up on every side, with a uniform of green knickerbockers and a black shirt, would demonstrate in every town, marching in hundreds, or even thousands, through the streets and singing or whistling to the old Alpine air of soaring, haunting melody with something in it of the attraction both of "Dixie" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," the song of "Giovinezza"—reminiscent of the golden days of the power of Lorenzo de' Medici in Renaissance Florence:

It's while we're young, oh, while we're young
(For to be young is to be strong),
That our beauty's at the spring
And Fascismo is the song
Of the nation's liberty.

Youth, disciplined though enthusiastic, this was the salvation of Italy. The

country responded to the idea, and "Giovinezza," first familiar in the late Autumn of 1921, began during the early months of 1922 to be the most familiar tune in Italy. In August the Fascisti broke up the Socialist reunion in Rome, in October they marched upon the capital, and the King, with remarkable astuteness, let them in without a struggle, and made Mussolini the head of the Government. By his genius for seeing the needs of a situation, the former blacksmith boy who had been an agitator in Switzerland, a Socialist writer in the time of the Liberals, a pro-Ally in the war and a wounded combatant, was now Italy's dictator and her savior. Firm in his support of Church and monarchy, the friend of bankers, the hope of the nobles, the idol of the people, the champion of those whom the war had maimed and blinded, the protagonist of national dignity, Mussolini secured a triumph by his mastery of opportunity.

Mussolini is the Italian Lloyd George. With the General's eye for the weakness in an enemy's position, a quick grasp of the moment's needs, an intuition into the feelings of the people and a readiness to speak or act in a way not easy to attack, these two men rose to supremacy by being definite in a plan of action when those around them were uncertain. Theirs is not a doctrine convinced of the truth by which they will recommend it to the people in season and out of season; they have no wish to make the world safe for democracy, nor, on the other hand, are they determined to make their countries fit for heroes to live in. When England was moved only by the momentum of the war, Mr. Asquith was inclined to accept the terms based on the status quo which Germany was offering in 1916. Russia was still a country, America was not yet in the war, the war had not cost the Allies a quarter of what it was to cost them, and the world, after learning a hard lesson, might have returned without undue delay to its old prosperity. As soon as Mr. Lloyd George heard of the plan, however, he saw that on the whole it would be unacceptable to his country-

men. By going on, they stood a fair chance of winning; their blood was up, they had food behind them, and to stop the war suddenly would be disastrous to many involved in heavy commitments.

Mr. Lloyd George resigned; he forced the Premier to resign; he took his place, and he held it for almost exactly six years. He would be holding it still if some ambitious and hot-headed young men among the Tories had not thought he lacked devotion to their principles and enthusiasm for their capacities. They preferred a success they could not sustain, and the result was that England had for ten months a Labor Government which Mr. Lloyd George could always have overthrown whenever it suited him and which no one could overthrow until it suited Lloyd George. This great British opportunist is still dominant in England, and by turning his energies to writing for the newspapers he has made his views of the political situation in Great Britain, and in Europe generally, the most generally studied of any in the world. His articles are published simultaneously in England, Germany and America and are perforce quoted by almost every important newspaper in the world. He remains a master of opportunity.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEADERSHIP

To Benito Mussolini, the Lloyd George of Italy, the opportunities come in a different way. His language can never recommend him to America, and neither Germany nor France will ever feel a dependence on his opinion. Phrases will not fascinate his country, but it leaves him free for demonstrations. Quick to adjust their minds and to transfer their allegiances, the Italians would not allow prestige to help in an emergency he could not master. He lives in a new country with an old civilization, among practical people not without an inclination toward sudden violence at moments of fury, though at other times they are the most courteous in the world. Brigandage is hardly a generation out of fashion among their rascals; but their power is in their peas-

antry, who are healthy, industrious, thrifty and prolific. It was the weakness of the banks and the decline of the exchange that gave Mussolini his great opportunity, and he dealt with that difficulty in the way that we have seen. He revived their old traditions, and gave a slap in the face to their Deputies. Such satisfactions were never permitted to England's Mussolini; while the Italian flouted the choice of the voters, the Welshman flattered them; a winning smile, a rapid, easy analysis of a problem, a diplomatic speech at a conference, a compromise with irreconcilables, a succession of unforgettable phrases and an avowed determination to give the people as a whole what they wanted before they quite realized what it was—these were the methods by which England's great politician remained supreme through years of crisis. In fact, he needed a crisis to secure his supremacy. It was only when the situation seemed impossible that all England would say, "Lloyd George is the man." The Tories could not have removed him from Downing Street till the worst of their troubles were over. It was his intolerable success at saving them that made them determined to divert his genius from the career of a Premier to that of a journalist.

COURAGE OF A CLEAR MIND

What Mr. Lloyd George achieves by words requires a coup in Italy. No sooner had the leader of the Fascisti captured Rome than he showed he had the courage of a clear mind. He spoke indeed with that "firmness amounting to brutality" of which he later boasted; a quality sensationally shown later when he said that the Fascisti were ready "not only to die but to kill." All Italy felt, and was glad to feel, that she had found at last a strong ruler. The boys were kept another hour in school, the passes on the railways were reduced, the taxes were increased, the press was censored and the country prospered. No one can deny the benefits of Fascismo. Both Amendola and Albertini spoke of them in warm terms when they were attack-

ing Fascismo, Amendola after the elections and Albertini after the murder of Matteotti. They admit the restoration of stable administration, the threat of Bolshevism removed, the increase of national solidarity and the improved position of Italy generally, and in particular economically.

Mussolini points to more: commercial prosperity, with bigger balances in the banks, steady work in the factories, growth both of cities and of rural population, 1,900 airplanes as compared with the 85 of two years ago, an enthusiastic spirit in the army, a strong Administration in the Colonies, Jubaland adding 91,000 square kilometres to the Italian territory of Somaliland, and seventeen commercial treaties, including one with Russia which gives the Italians privileges in Baku, and others with Austria and Yugoslavia which make Trieste into an even greater port than it was in the old Austrian days. And besides this Fiume has been annexed, the Greeks have paid their indemnity and the Italians continue to dominate in the French colonies of Northern Africa. Furthermore, the exchange has been steadied at 23 lire to the dollar. Accomplished facts of this kind are argument enough, says Mussolini.

But in the course of this success, the leader of Fascismo found himself twice in a very unenviable position; the first involved him with foreign powers, the second robbed him of the enthusiasm of his countrymen. The Corfu affair was due to his desire to make a demonstration. When eight Italian officials were killed in Greece, he saw, as Mr. Lloyd George would have seen, an opportunity to make a demonstration. He seized, as almost any head of a stronger power would have seized, a pledge. He gave warning of a bombardment, and a bombardment followed. We need not enlarge upon its horrors; in spite of warnings more people were killed than had been killed originally. But what was more, the presence of Italians in an island which, in conjunction with their own coast, strangled the sea-trade of the

Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia as well as Austria and Hungary, was very disturbing to the diplomacy of Europe. France saw her eastern supporters weakened and England saw a dangerous rival between herself and the Suez Canal; a power like Italy, with a population growing at the rate of 400,000 a year and already nearly equal to that of France or England, was the last that either of these countries wanted to see assuming a truculent attitude.

Furthermore, Greece had appealed to the League of Nations. The League is under the dominance of France, and the Italians are not lovers of the French. They have never forgiven the exchange of the Western side of Savoy for the help of France against Austria, and France sends them no money like England or America. But apart from that, they distrust the League of Nations. All parties in Italy deride it. At the Vatican there is the outline of another League of Nations, which the Italians much prefer. So Mussolini, amid the enthusiasm of his countrymen, refused the offices of Geneva. It was a bold step, but it succeeded. The Council of Ambassadors gave him his indemnity, and he had already seen that he must forego the permanent possession of Corfu. He came out of that incident weakened among foreigners, but with increased prestige among Italians.

WEAKENED BY FASCIST VIOLENCE

Fortune next favored him with the fall of the French franc, and a good budget. He seized the opportunity to order an election and reconstitute a Parliament. It brought in an immense majority of supporters to Mussolini, the "Duce" [leader], but it shook the confidence of the people. Fascisti with loaded canes at the booths, and an artificial system of assessing votes, made an unrepresentative Parliament, and the people began to be alarmed. Meanwhile the Fascisti grew truculent. A headstrong element ruled at the central councils of the party, and a vicious example in leading hotels was set by some well-

known men. Rumors of sensations began to spread. A single story will make clear what the tendency was. Mussolini's second in command in the air force, General Piccio, had married a wealthy American; they had one son. When Mme. Piccio bobbed her hair in Paris, the General flogged her openly in a restaurant. And in June, 1924, when she was back in Italy, he attempted to seize from her and her Irish governess the child, custody of whom had been given to the mother by the French courts. When Mme. Piccio attempted to sail from Italy, the General had her passage confiscated. She fled to Sardinia to get a boat to Corsica, which is French territory. Tracking her down with Government airplanes, he brought her and her child back to Rome, imprisoned the governess in a barracks and ordered Mme. Piccio to leave the country. As he had no right to do this, she refused, applied for help to the British Ambassador and the matter was finally adjusted.

In a country where such things could happen, Giacomo Matteotti, the most uncompromising opponent of Fascismo and the man boldest to attack it in foreign countries, was not mistaken when he saw that there was reason to fear for his life. But his murder on June 10, 1924, was more than the people wanted. The revelations that immediately followed, showing that Fascisti in high official positions, including the most intimate friends of Mussolini, had been connected with the murder, produced a sensation of horror and amazement. The violent speeches made by Mussolini before the election, the biting criticisms made by Amendola and Albertini at the opening of Parliament were remembered, and the Roman populace changed its tone. "Viva Amendola," they cried, and "Down with Mussolini!" In a single day they began to hiss their idol. "Where is his wife in Milan?" they asked, and "Has he women friends, in Rome?"

The great opportunist of Italy, however, was not at the end of his resources. He found help in what, under the circumstances, was an unexpected quar-

ter; in the organization which his predecessors had robbed of the sovereignty of Rome and which had not yet given an official cognizance to the Italian Government. In other words, he was supported by the *Osservatore Romano*, the newspaper which, in his own words, was "the organ of the Holy See."

SUPPORTER OF CATHOLICISM

The relations of Fascismo with the Church are not the least interesting side of it. When the Vatican once again allowed orthodox Catholics to vote, a party more or less under its influence was created. But Don Romolo Murri, its first leader, soon became unorthodox, and though a priest, married. Don Sturzo, who succeeded him, was himself not altogether persona grata to the Vatican. His party had coquetted with socialism, and when the Fascisti began to discipline their country, their sticks fell not rarely on the heads or backs of members of Don Sturzo's party. But Fascismo itself had never been hostile to Catholicism; on the contrary, it had always supported it as Italy's religion. When the Fascisti marched on Rome, the Vatican was not unfriendly to them. Mussolini in return began his Administration with a solemn mass, attended by all the members of his Government, and very soon afterward ordered religion to be taught in the schools and the crucifix to be set up in the schoolroom. He furthermore encouraged the observance of religion, instructed officials to march in the religious processions of Corpus Christi and referred always with deep respect to the Catholic authorities.

Why is Mussolini, long a Socialist and an unbeliever, a supporter of Catholicism, when, so far as can be seen, he is not in practice a consistent Catholic? When he was brought to the hospital with seventeen wounds or abrasions from the splinters of a bomb, he was visited, like any other wounded soldier, by the chaplain. This chaplain, Don Brizio, was a shrewd judge of character. He did not speak of religion to his patient; he spoke of patriotic journal-

ism; he pointed out the need of a religion as a patriotic influence and reminded his hearer of its deep hold over the Italian people. His words were not forgotten. Mussolini saw that religious principles and respect for the organization which provided them, were necessary to a real national revival.

But the connection of Italy with Catholicism has another side. Every year a vast number of pilgrims come to Rome, to Loretto, to the tomb of St. Antony at Padua. They all bring money into the country. If these religious pilgrimages were stopped, many hotels and tourist agencies would go into bankruptcy. In 1925 an unusually large crowd, estimated at between one million and four millions, is expected in Rome. They will be a great financial asset. Furthermore, the money sent to the Pope, most of which now comes from America, helps Italy to balance her national accounts. It is essential to Italy, therefore, to support Catholicism, and Catholicism is equally dependent on the Italian Government to maintain such order that the faithful will have no hesitation in either coming, or sending money, into the country. Another Matteotti murder would spoil the phenomenal success of the Holy Year. That is why the Vatican is especially anxious to have no change of government just now. And just as Mr. Lloyd George saw the need for England to have a diplomatic representative at the Holy See, and praised the Pope's work for the reconstruction of Europe, so Mussolini is forced, not by conviction, but by policy, to support the Church. At the great Fascista Congress in August, 1924, he therefore insisted that his party recognize no international organization but that of the Catholic and Roman Church, and that it was fundamentally opposed to Catholicism's enemy, Freemasonry, in any form, whether in Italy or out of it. His advances toward the Church have caused the old Popular Party to divide and the saner portion of it to form a centre party which is not hostile to Fascismo.

A more general question than Mussolini's relation to the Church is his for-

sign policy. In this he has secured a remarkable success. The times when Italian politicians could be flouted, as at the Peace Conference at Paris, will not return quickly. Italy is already one of the great powers, and her influence is constantly increasing with her population. The three problems before Mussolini were to increase Italy's international prestige, to improve her trade and to find an outlet for her population. With regard to the first of those problems, the Corfu incident and what Mussolini calls his "brutality" have not failed to impress the world; the powers

realize now that Italy must be reckoned with; her commercial treaties and the balance of the budget have been an excellent thing for industry and the banks, and Italian trade is now flourishing more than ever before. But this itself raises prices and means high taxes, so that the people with fixed incomes suffer, and both capitalists and peasants complain that they never know when they will have to pay a new tax. This is especially the case in Istria and the South Tyrol, or Venezia Tridentina, as it is now called. There, naturally, an Italian nationalist movement is not appreciated; the Austrian Government maintained better discipline on lower taxes. Austria never had to cope with the tradition of corruption with which Mussolini has had to struggle and which he has not yet by any means eliminated from the Administration.

The annexed provinces are flourish-



Mussolini at the parade of the Fascisti held to celebrate the second anniversary of the March on Rome

ing, but they feel, and bitterly resent, the difficulty they now have in emigration. Emigration is the most pressing political question in Italy, and Mussolini has always been very much alive to it. The new laws passed by the United States were the severest blow fate had yet given him. He turned his attention, therefore, not so much to the Italian colonies, for they are worth little, as to Northern Africa and South America. In Northern Africa, the Italians already outnumber the French in France's own colonies by almost two to one and they refuse to give up their Italian nationality. This is naturally a cause of friction. In South America there are no difficulties and still much room, and it is naturally the wish of Mussolini to develop a friendship with Spain and Spanish traditions so as to keep an open door into South America. The visit of the Prince of Piemonte to the

Italian communities there was a royal advertisement of his policy.

POPULARITY WANING, DESPITE
"LIBERALISM"

And now, as he settles down in the saddle once more, Mussolini reminds us yet again of the political genius that Great Britain owes to Wales. Mr. Lloyd George, opportunist as he was, had a background of political principles; liberal principles, as they are called; and it was his compromise with these when, after the coalition, he fell under the influence of the Tories, that disillusioned his own party, just as it was his assertion of them that maddened the Tories. He was indeed the friend of capitalists, but he gave a charter to India and Dominion status to Southern Ireland, as well as vastly increasing the number of voters. He fell from the Premiership in the void between two loyalties. And now Mussolini seeks to make a coalition; though declaring that nothing will

induce him to resign, for he has the confidence of the country, he explores every expedient by which he can win the Liberals to his side. And to do this what efforts he must make to restrain the ardor of his followers, the intransigence of his own extremists under Farinacci and the excitability of his own armed bands! But there are 38,000,000 Italians who are not Fascisti and they are more important than his own extremists.

There yet remains for discussion one element which in the parallel with Lloyd George is the equivalent of Liberal principles; it is what is known as Fascist Syndicalism. The political theory which the more thoughtful of the Fascisti have attempted to associate with the vigorous administration of Mussolini has a certain affinity to a system of trades unions, but it has more in common with the medieval guilds. In eight great corporations, of which the intellectual workers are one, the producers of Italy, the men who work, are in this system to safeguard their own interests, and each



P. & A. Photos

Italian Militia (Black Guards) parading in Rome during the recent crisis

in his own way contributes to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. That is the Fascist dream, the ideal which Mussolini's Government contributes to the political philosophy of the time. But, the Liberals ask: Is there anything in this which is not Liberal? And, secondly, though it might be an ideal for every political party of Italy, Is it practical for any of them to return from the complexity of modern organization to the system of the Middle Ages? The truth is that Italy is an interesting combination of medieval tradition with modern inventions, and that her intensely vital people still retain a profound and passionate loyalty to that Catholic civilization which was the result of Christian ideals mingling with the administrative triumphs of ancient Rome.

Of this Mussolini is perfectly aware, and though, if another figure were to captivate the imagination of the people, Mussolini need make only one mistake to be turned out, that other figure is not yet in sight. For several seasons at least Mussolini will probably remain, if no

longer the dictator, at least the governor, of Italy. But his task is becoming more difficult and his popularity is everywhere declining. And when he goes, if he does go, he will, as he boasts, have left his mark upon Italian history; for not only has he set the feet of his countrymen upon firmer ground, but his decisive nationalism has taught his country, just fifty years after she attained her unity, that she is indeed a nation. He has completed the *Risorgimento* (Rebirth) of Italy and just as Lloyd George, the English opportunist, must remain in history the figure who by prolonging the war gave Europe, after much suffering, its present form, so Italy, though in future years she will not be blind to Mussolini's faults, will remember that after an indecision of fifty years she became a power only after she had learned the strength of unity from Mussolini, an equally great opportunist, one no less sincere in his ideals and one who had a freer hand because the traditions of his country were not those of Parliamentary Government.



Danzig and Memel

Danger Spots of Europe

By ROBERT MACHRAY

RENEWED anxiety lest Poland occupy Danzig by force of arms and annex it in defiance of the League of Nations once more roused interest in that phase of European reconstruction presented by two cities of the South-eastern Baltic—Danzig and Memel. Of the two, Danzig is much the larger, and in that sense more important than Memel, but both possess a very similar political significance. With surrounding strips of territory, they were both ceded by Germany to the Allied and Associated Powers and created considerable difficulty for the framers of the Treaty of Versailles, since they were cities inhabited predominantly by Germans.

Admitted that at the dawn of its authentic history Danzig, then called, as the Poles still call it, Gdansk, was Slav and Memel Lithuanian, it is equally true that in 1919, about a thousand years later, Danzig and Memel were German in their speech, Government, institutions, connections and outlook. For centuries, up to 1814, they had been only more or less German. After the period that saw the conquest of most of the littoral of the Eastern Baltic by the Teutonic Knights followed another period, in which Danzig and Memel were members of the Hanseatic League. Danzig, however, then flourished under the protection of Poland, and the city today exhibits many striking evidences of Polish influence—that was the period in which Danzig was less German. In the same time Memel passed under various rulers—was Swedish and was Russian—the period, too, when Memel was less German, and when probably many German immigrants lost their national identity and were merged mainly with the old Lithuanian stock. But with 1814 there came the period for both cities of intensive

Prussification and the iron-handed suppression of independent or other-than-German nationalistic tendencies, the natural result being, as the process went on without cessation, that both Danzig and Memel were pretty thoroughly Germanized. This was also largely true of the territory surrounding Danzig and inland throughout the region that had separated East Prussia from Germany proper and had been part of Poland. But it was true in nothing like the same measure of the territory surrounding Memel, which retained in an amazing way its distinctively Lithuanian characteristics.

It was the resuscitation of Poland by the Allied and Associated Powers that introduced and at the same time complicated the problem of Danzig, Poland was given the "corridor." This was not really something new, for there was a Polish corridor to the Baltic, including Danzig, in existence before Poland was partitioned; what was new was the exclusion of Danzig. The Poles had hoped and indeed strove hard at Paris to have Danzig in the corridor of the Versailles Treaty, but the territory actually assigned to them did not contain a seaport, though it did reach the Baltic. Those who made the treaty could not forget that Danzig was German, though, strangely enough, they did forget that much of the corridor they gave to Poland was just as German as was

Robert Machray is a leading British writer on foreign affairs, though he began his career as a clergyman, being for some time Canon of St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St. John's College, University of Manitoba. In 1889 he resigned from the Church, began to travel extensively, to write novels and to specialize on the affairs of the Orient and the Baltic countries. For three years until last year he wrote editorially on foreign affairs for *The Saturday Review* (London) and has been a frequent contributor to *The Fortnightly Review* and other publications.

Danzig. They compromised matters by constituting Danzig, with a small surrounding territory, a Free City under the League of Nations, but with such sweeping reservations in favor of Poland that it looked as if Poland had become suzerain of Danzig, as was the case during so much of the Middle Ages. Poland was not only entrusted with the conduct of the foreign relations of the Free City, which was placed within the Polish customs frontiers, but she was guaranteed the free use of and the right to develop and improve all waterways, docks, basins, wharves and other works within the Free City, as well as rights over the Vistula and the whole railway system of Danzig. Above all, there was to be no discrimination against the Poles by the Danzigers. Two conventions between the Free City and Poland embodied all these provisions. Yet there has been a good deal of friction, and in practice the real determining power is in the hands of the High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations, as his decisions on conflicting points have been always upheld by the League and thus have acquired the character of finality. So far the High Commissioner

has conceived his rôle to be that of umpire or arbitrator, and it is scarcely necessary to add that he has not always succeeded in giving pleasure to both parties.

DANZIG'S HINTERLAND

Subject to the foregoing reservations the Free City of Danzig is a sovereign State, conducting its internal affairs through a Parliament consisting of a popular house, the Volkstag, and an upper house, the Senate, the President of which acts as Chief of the State. The last elections took place in November, 1923, and due weight must be given to the result as indicating the political complexion of the Free City. Out of a total of 165,000 votes cast the Poles were able to poll only 4,600, and to gain no more than five seats out of a total of 120. Against this remarkably poor showing there must be put the fact that the economic basis of the Free City, and of Danzig town and port in particular, is Poland and nothing else. The sole hinterland of the Free City is the basin of the Vistula, the great river of Poland, which, with its affluents, drains an area of 125,000 square miles, and is



Map of the Southeastern Baltic showing the position of Danzig and Memel



Wide World Photos

German troops at the monument of Kaiser Wilhelm I., Danzig, before they were compelled to leave the city

larger than the basin of the Rhine or the Elbe. Apart from this vast and magnificent tributary region Danzig is nothing. East Prussia has its port in Königsberg, and Germany on the west side of the Polish corridor has its port in Stettin, and Danzig cannot draw trade from either. The Free City is absolutely dependent for its commercial existence on Poland, and were Poland to deprive it of its trade Danzig would rapidly decline and might ultimately perish. As Poland's sole outlet to the sea Danzig felt quite secure. But the position of affairs is being dramatically and radically changed, because within a comparatively short time Danzig is about to be no longer Poland's sole outlet to the sea. With strong French backing, Poland is constructing a harbor at Gdynia, two or three miles beyond the northwest frontier of the Free City. A prominent Pole has stated that the intention with respect to the new port is not to compete with but to complete Danzig, but this is evidently the language of diplomacy and hardly conceals the menace to the Free City.

Gdynia is bound to be a very costly undertaking. There was nothing to

start with, such as some small port that could be enlarged, deepened, and developed. Just as Czarist Russia had to dig out of the solid ground a war harbor and naval base at Libau, higher up the Baltic, at an infinite cost of labor and treasure, so Poland has to dig out of the solid ground this new port of hers at a heavy cost. It is plain that she would never dream of building Gdynia were she satisfied with the situation as between herself and the Free City. It is not so much because of the difficulties encountered by her in the actual working of the port of Danzig in conjunction with the Danzigers, though these exist and occasion ill-feeling. It is because the Free City remains in its outlook and aims persistently and stubbornly German. On the east, where the frontier for a few miles is the same, it looks to East Prussia, the home of Junkerdom; on the west its eyes pass over the corridor and fasten themselves on Berlin. Danzig is a centre of Pan-Germanism, the ultra-Chauvinistic organization called the Hakenkreuz, whose ideal is the restoration of the Imperial régime and the return to Germany of all her former provinces and possessions.

And so the Pan-Germans regard Danzig's being a Free City as merely a cover or cloak for making it a part again of the German Empire. For similar reasons they advocated the making of Memel into a Free City, and inspired the abortive attempt against Lithuania's sovereignty over Memel last August. Danzig, then, is a focus of German propaganda and intrigue, and the Poles are, of course, well aware of it. Some leading Danzigers do not hesitate to state that it is their conviction, or what they say is their conviction, that "Poland will not, can not last." This the Poles bitterly resent, and hence Gdynia, with its unmistakable threat to Danzig. Gdynia apart, however, it is just because the Free City considers itself and is an outpost of Germany that

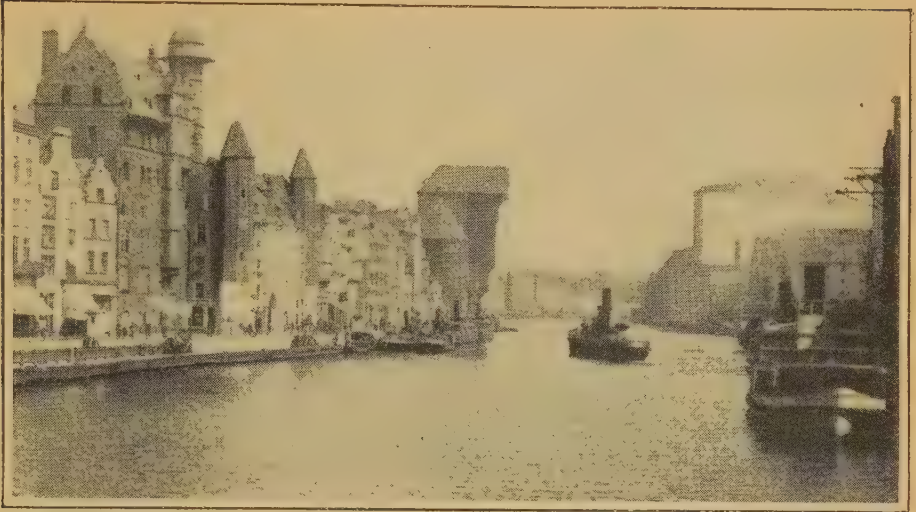
it remains one of the danger spots of Europe. Had it been united to Poland, its economic interests, which are almost exclusively Polish, would in all probability have worked in a perfectly natural manner for closer and closer union, as seems likely to be the case with Memel and Lithuania. Looking to Germany for light and leading, Danzig pulls away from Poland in sheer defiance of its economic interests.

Memel can scarcely be said to have the claims on general interest that Danzig undoubtedly possesses, but it is literally of enormous, of vital interest to one country—Lithuania. Substituting Lithuanian for Slav or Polish, there are some striking similarities between the two cities in their history, as well as in their geographical and economic position. What may be called the native period—Lithuanian in Memel, just as it was Slav in Danzig—was replaced by the period when the Teutonic knights held sway over the Baltic littoral. That in its turn, in the case of Memel as of Danzig, was followed by the Hanseatic period, during which, however, Memel shone with little of the splendor that radiated forth from Danzig. Nor did the Hanseatic period last so long in Memel as in Danzig, and this may be the reason—remembering also that it changed hands several times—why there is nothing of the ancient or even medieval to be seen in Memel; its aspect is that of a modern town of its size, which may be judged from its having 30,000 inhabitants. From the time of the Teutonic knights, who made the place into a port, Memel town has been more or less German; there was always a Lithuanian element. The people in its immediate neighborhood and south of it remained as distinctly Lithuanian as did the



Ewing Galloway

Public Square, Danzig



The Harbor of Danzig

Ewing Galloway

people east of it in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania itself, or Lithuania Major, as it was sometimes called. The territory around Memel and south of it is a portion of what was termed Lithuania Minor—a geographical expression which formerly covered a not inconsiderable area of East Prussia, but nowadays is usually applied to Memel and its territory, which, for convenience, may perhaps be better called Memelland.

MEMEL A GERMAN CITY

In the nineteenth century the town of Memel was Prussia's most northerly possession, and all Memelland was subjected, as was previously stated, to that intensive Prussification which was the fate of Danzig, but with much less success. Hence, in 1919, the allied and associated powers told the German delegation that Memelland had "always been Lithuanian," and that the majority of its population was "Lithuanian in origin and speech." Further, while admitting that the city itself was "largely German," they declared that was no reason for maintaining the district under German sovereignty, "particularly in view of the fact that the Port of Memel was the only sea outlet for Lithuania." They transferred Memelland to them-

selves, and said their reason for doing so was that the status of Lithuania had not yet been established. This could only mean that Memelland would be transferred to Lithuania when the latter's status was fixed. So far as the allied and associated powers were concerned, they took an unconscionable time to fix it; not, indeed, till the close of December, 1922, was de jure recognition accorded by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan through the Ambassadors' conference. But in 1919-20 Lithuania had become an organized State with definite boundaries, though these had been circumscribed by the Polish occupation of the Vilna and part of the Grodno districts.

Just as the resurrection of Poland complicated the question of Danzig, so the resurrection of Lithuania complicated the question of Memel. The great powers dealt with them differently; Danzig was at once made a Free City under the League of Nations, but Memelland was garrisoned and administered in the name of the Allies by a French force, at the head of which was a French High Commissioner. This had the paradoxical result that French policy supported the German element as against the Lithuanian, be-

cause France believed that she was thus paving the way—that is, by reducing Lithuanian influence—for Poland, who put forward a claim to the Port of Memel. In Memelland Lithuania had (and still has) to face Polish as well as German antagonism. Vilna is the great root cause of the strife between Lithuania and Poland. As 1922 closed Lithuania was afraid that Memelland would pass, under French diplomatic sleight of hand, into the possession of the Poles. And the Lithuanian element in Memelland was oppressed by the same fear.

Scarcely had *de jure* recognition been given to Lithuania when the Lithuanian Memellanders rose in revolt against the local authority, the Landesdirektorium, or State Council, which functioned in the German interest under the protection of the French High Commissioner and his troops. The insurgents were careful to say, however, that their action was taken against the Directory and not the Allies, whom the French represented. In the end, after protracted negotiations with the Ambassadors' Conference and the Council of the League of Nations, Memelland was accorded autonomy un-

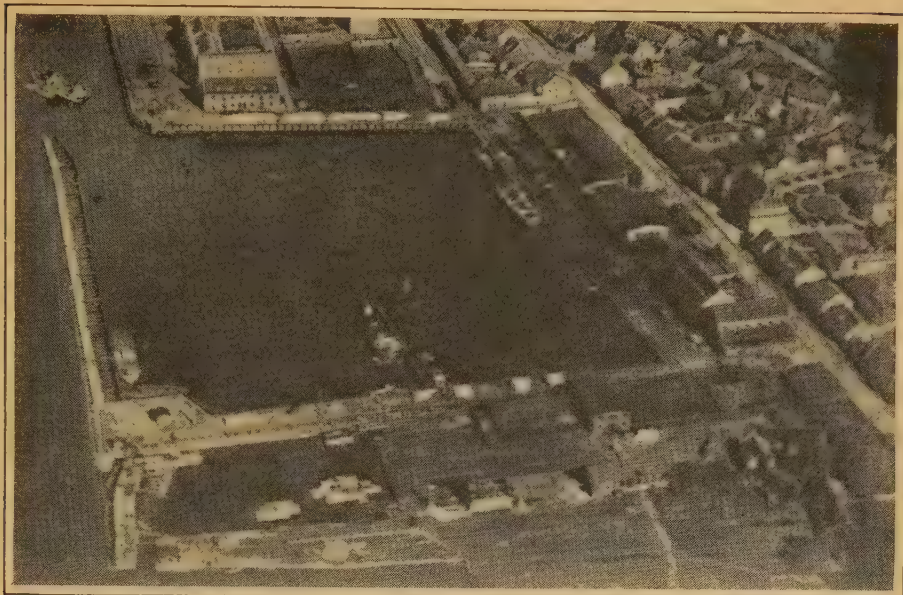
der the sovereignty of Lithuania. The terms are stated in the Memel convention between Lithuania and the Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—which was signed in Paris on May 8, 1924, and ratified at Kovno (or Kaunas, as the Lithuanians call it) by the Lithuanian Seimas (Parliament) on July 30, 1924. The Lithuanian Government assumed responsibility for the administration of Memelland.

In brief, the convention consists of eighteen articles, constituting the convention itself; of Annex I., of 38 articles; of Annex II., of 14 articles, and of Annex III., of 4 articles. The convention provides that Memelland "shall constitute under the sovereignty of Lithuania a unit enjoying legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy within the limits set out by the statute," which forms Annex I. Annex II. deals with the administration of the Port of Memel, and Annex III. with transit matters. There is to be a Seimelis or local Chamber of Representatives (one for each 5,000 of the population), and a Directory of five members, which is to be clothed with executive authority and must have the



The outer port of Memel, Lithuania

Underwood



Harbor of Memel

Underwood

confidence of a majority of the Seimelis. The Central Government is represented by a High Commissioner or Governor, who appoints the President of Memelland, the other members of the Directory being appointed by the President. In this way the Governor fulfills the duties of a State President and the Directory those of a Cabinet.

In 1923, two or three months after the success of the rising of the Lithuanian Memellanders, the German element in the country, or rather in Memel town, fomented and attempted a counter-insurrection, but it failed utterly. Subsequently, a rising which had been organized to take place on Aug. 4, 1924, by the German Hakenkreuz was discovered by the Lithuanian authorities in Memel and nipped in the bud. The plotters intended to seize the military barracks and all Government offices, overthrow the existing Government and proclaim Memelland an absolutely free State. They had made elaborate plans for the attack, which was to be prosecuted by five groups of about 100 men each. Having received timely warning, the Lithuanian police

of Memel arrested a considerable number of the conspirators on Aug. 1, 2 and 3 and learned from them the details of the whole affair.

BLOW AT LITHUANIA

During a visit to Memel and Kovno in the course of my trip last year I found that a Polish element was virtually non-existent and that the Memellanders divided themselves into Lithuanians and Germans, the proportion at present being respectively about two-thirds to one-third of the population, with the Germans stronger or at least more numerous than the Lithuanians in the City of Memel. Greatly to my surprise I was told by a neutral in an official position, but who evidently sympathized with the German element, that the putsch (unsuccessful rising) was nothing more or less than a "frame-up" by the Lithuanians for the purpose of discrediting the Germans, and that that was all the reality it possessed. But incriminating documents discovered in the houses of the conspirators and admissions by several of the men arrested when under examination made

it quite clear that the putsch had the very definite aim of overthrowing the existing Government of Memelland and wresting the territory from Lithuania. I also heard some complaints of Lithuanian tyranny regarding commercial and other matters in which German Memellanders were interested, but on the other hand I was told of acts of sabotage which could only have been perpetrated by Germans or Germanophiles against the Lithuanians. I was, however, assured by the Lithuanian Government that so far it had not received even one statement from the German side to the effect that German firms in Memel were suffering from unfair discrimination or were being oppressed, though it knew very well that some persons hostile to Lithuania were sedulously circulating stories that such firms were penalized.

The port of Memel is Lithuania's "window to the world," and it is of vital interest to her to make it as good a port as is possible. It is hundreds of years old, and was at one time a centre on a large scale of the East Baltic lumber industry, but the port was of comparatively shallow depth, and this told against it. In 1924 Lithuania expended 2,500,000 lits (\$250,000) on improving the port, and has decided to spend 4,000,000 lits on it in 1925. In 1924 the harbor was deepened to rather more than six and a half meters. The northern mole was completely reconstructed, and improvements were being effected on the southern mole. There would not have been, I think, any prospect of Memel becoming one of the finest ports on the Baltic if it had been constituted a free city on the Danzig model, for the means would

have been lacking. All Lithuania is the hinterland of Memel, and the Lithuanian Government is taking active measures for the development of the hinterland in close connection with Memel by the construction of railways. For the provision of a direct link with the port, connecting it with Kovno, a trunk line has been planned to run through the entire central portion of Lithuania, providing at the same time the nearest outlet for Southwestern Russia and the Vilna district. Two other lines are projected—one in Northern Lithuania, from Amaliai via Telshiai to Kretinga, there forming a junction with one of the existing railways to Memel (from Libau); the other from south to north, from Kazluruda, by way of Shakiai and Raseiniai, to Lydavenai and so to Memel. Under the Trade Facilities act the British Government has agreed to advance to the Lithuanian Government £1,000,000 to assist in the building of these lines. The Lithuanian Government is to provide the rest of the sum required.

With the building of these railways and consequent development of trade, Memel promises to grow into a fairly large city. Already factories are increasing in number and there is a steady increase in the volume of shipping. The German element is taking part in this program of development and sharing in the benefits derived from a city joined politically to its natural hinterland, its economic hinterland. There is not any such threat to it as Gdynia is to Danzig, though it is well to recall that there was a proposal on the part of Lithuania to build a new port at Polangen, a little higher up the coast, before she came into possession of Memel.



The Immunity of Church Property

By JOSEPH CONRAD FEHR

American Member of the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany

RECENT dispatches from Moscow, Russia, and Etchmiadzin, Armenia, announced that all property seized by the Bolsheviki from the Armenian Church during the famine of 1920-21, consisting of thousands of dollars' worth of gold and silver chalices, communion cups, ikons, crucifixes and candelabra, as well as money, had been returned to the Armenian Catholics and the Armenian Church by the Moscow authorities. The importance of this news is obvious, for this is the first time in the history of the Soviet régime that confiscated property has ever been returned to any church in Russia.

Not only Russia, but all nations that were engaged in the World War, are now facing many delicate questions on account of the confiscatory and sequestration measures enacted during the war for the purpose of prohibiting trading with the enemy—measures which in many instances affected the property, rights and interests of the Church.

Since the signing of the treaties of peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary at Versailles and St. Germain, statesmen and lawyers in America, as well as abroad, have studied the problems raised by these measures. Much of the property thus seized in the allied countries was actually owned by churches which are now seeking its return or the equivalent. The United States has led the world in returning to the original owners church property so seized in enemy countries. It took this action on the strength of an opinion handed down by the Attorney General and approved by the President of the United States, that the Church, being an institution of

God, was not an enemy within the meaning and intention of the Trading With the Enemy act.

Whether or not the view thus expressed is sound in point of law is still questionable, but in the light of history and equity the doctrine announced by the Attorney General had the support of more than 5,000 years of ecclesiastical precedents. For hundreds of years all civilized nations accepted the doctrine of the inviolability of church property, as well as of the clergy, in time of war. Except for the atrocities committed by the Huns and the Visigoths when they swooped down upon the growing Christian civilization of Western Europe, and the universally condemned seizures of church property by the maddened mobs in France during the Reign of Terror and in Bolshevik Russia, enlightened Governments have never, as a rule, failed to cloak ecclesiastical persons and things with the sanctity of law and protection, even during the bloodiest of wars. Instances of confiscation of religious and charitable property have never occurred without obloquy. And this immunity which the Church enjoys, although it arose largely on account of the supremacy which the Papacy in Rome succeeded in maintaining for so many centuries, has been steadfastly adhered to as a matter of international as well as internal policy by every civilized nation in Christendom.

The history of medieval times is replete with constant wars and quarrels between the sovereign powers of Europe which pledged their allegiance to the primacy of the Holy Roman Empire. The Church, however, was throughout

the Dark Ages sanctified by law, and its property, as well as its clergy, were inviolate in the eyes of the civil as well as the canon law, in spite of recurrent crusades and international strife.

This reverence for ecclesiastical property on the part of laymen everywhere continued even after publicists of unquestioned reputation, such as Grotius (1583-1645), Bynkershoek (1673-1743) and Vattel (1714-1767), laid down the first principles of international law to the effect that conquering nations may, in time of war, confiscate and sequester public as well as certain kinds of private property. So firmly established were the doctrines relative to the sanctity of Church property that these writers did not even deem it essential to dwell at any length upon the subject. Thus church property of all kinds, such as cathedrals, abbeys, monasteries and gifts of lands and jewels and moneys to the Church have, since time immemorial, been granted the protection and sanction of law and administrative policy, even though the legal title was vested in a parish or body of individuals in an enemy country. For centuries emperors and kings exhorted their legions to give succor to the Church, its clergy and its property, regardless of locality, unless the clergy was employed in active warfare to the disadvantage of the invading forces.

SEIZURES IN WARTIME

In modern times, however, ecclesiastical property and business matters generally have been handled for the Church by the banks and brokers, acting as agents. Centuries ago Church ownership of property consisted in the main only of landed estates; today it comprises money, stocks and bonds, as well as realty. This is particularly true of churches that are incorporated, such as the Roman Catholic Church and the so-called Mormon Church.

Upon the outbreak of the World War, therefore, much property really owned by the various Church denominations, but which, on the books of firms of allied countries, was apparently owned

by enemy banks and other business houses, through whose agency the churches negotiated their business relations with the temporal world, was seized as the property of enemies. These bank accounts and securities, listed in allied countries as enemy property, were therefore seized during the war by the Alien Property Custodians of the various nations at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary and their allies, in accordance with the sequestration legislation enacted by the Allies in order to assume control over property owned, or apparently owned, by alien enemies. One of the most perplexing questions now confronting the Allies is whether or not Church property thus sequestered during the war can be brought under the operation of the Clearing House provisions of the Treaty of Versailles in the present international adjustment of debt claims and reparations.

In all the history of the past 1,800 years there had never been any definite adjudication upon this far-reaching problem. Neither under the common law nor under the civil law of Continental Europe were there any decisions which firmly established the international relationship of the Church in time of war. Hence, statesmen, jurists, scholars and men trained in the law have searched through their histories and the earliest treatises of Littleton, Coke and the land-books and year-books, as well as the early contributions known to the Roman civil law and canon law, in order to determine the policy of civilized nations in relation to ecclesiastical property. These researches resulted in the discovery of some sound, well established principles of law and equity, both municipal and international in their scope, which have an important bearing upon the subject under discussion.

In the United States the situation as regards Church property has its complexities. The argument is sometimes made that the Constitution of the United States does not recognize any particular religious creed, or even Christianity,

and that, therefore, the Church has received no special sanction from the law, as in those countries which have established State religions. Holders of this view emphasize the fact that Church property can, under the Federal Constitution, be taxed, and that it usually is taxed, unless specifically exempted therefrom by Federal or State laws. The status of the Church as regards its capacity to be an enemy within the meaning of municipal law, and the law of nations, also raises the question as to whether moneys and other properties received by the Church under bequests and in the nature of gifts and grants come within the ordinary province of the law governing private property.

This question is of such depth, however, that it warrants more serious consideration than a mere reference to the statute books. It has a historic background that has taken centuries to build up, and, therefore, recourse must be had to the early development of the common law and the civil law, which had their inception in Christian principles and teachings, as expounded by the early leaders of the Church. The fact that both the common law and the civil law were component parts of Christendom, and that the law had its growth along with Christianity is unquestioned.

For many centuries the Church administered its own law and it was this law, known as the canon law, which so vitally influenced the civil law of Continental Europe and which in England eventually gave rise to the establishment of courts of chancery and rules of equity. Many canons of this ecclesiastical law gradually became a part of the common law of England, and in that way many of its fundamental doctrines were ingrafted upon the body of English jurisprudence.

The Anglo-Saxon land books state in no uncertain language the views of the earliest lawgivers that all Church property is owned by God. Indeed, the words "God's property and the Church's twelvefold" were, perhaps, the first written words in English law. A gift or bequest to the Church was, therefore,

regarded as and in effect was a donation to God Almighty. It will be seen then that such gifts or bequests were never regarded as a tax upon the laity, imposed by the State for the upkeep of the Church; instead, they were viewed from the beginning as voluntary payments made to God and His Church from a sense of moral obligation. This practice the Church has continued to foster among her children. The so-called Mormon Church is, perhaps, the only religious organization in the world which puts into practice the identical law of tithing as it originated in the Mosaic era. Members of the Mormon Church are commanded to pay one-tenth of all they have or all they earn as a gift to God, for the furtherance of His work "among the children of men." Maxims, which in the civil law and in the canon law have had the effect of definite rules of law, firmly established the harmony which for centuries joined Church and law together. These maxims also became a part of the common law, and some of them are recognized in English and American as well as European systems of jurisprudence.

LEGAL STATUS OF OWNER

The law of charitable trusts, as it obtains in all common law jurisdictions today, is but an extended growth of the old ecclesiastical practice of giving unto God tithes, lands, precious stones and gifts and grants of real and personal property of every description, to be used by the Church for charitable and religious purposes for the benefit of God Almighty. Legal scholars have repeatedly pointed out that the nature of the rules governing charitable trusts is such that the beneficial owner is not and need not be capable of holding the legal title. This is clarified in the cases where property is given in trust for the benefit of the poor in a parish, or for the purposes of education, or for religious or any other charitable uses. In these the beneficiaries are usually unknown, uncertain and even incapable of taking over the legal title. How-

ever, these trusts are nevertheless valid in equity and courts of chancery are always willing to protect the rights of those for whose benefit the trusts were created.

Originally, the Chancellor was a Church official, and in administering the King's equity and justice it was his policy to regard the "*cestui que use*" (the person who uses) as the real owner of the property, although the legal title was held by another. Upon this theory, equity soon began to regard all property held in trust as really owned by the beneficial owner, or the "person who uses," in spite of the law courts, which jealously refused to take any notice whatever of the beneficiary. There is no doubt that the development of the law governing charitable uses, as it now prevails in English and American law, was due largely to the guidance of the early Chancellors who were ecclesiasts high in the councils of the King's Government, as well as in the Church. They derived their unlimited prerogatives from the powerful hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which had, from time to time, vested the holder of the papal office with the authority of an international judge. (Period of 500 years prior to the days of Boniface VIII; 1294-1303). These principals have been confirmed by judicial decisions of our own time.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN LAW

The fact that churches and religious organizations have generally received the primary protection of the King and Emperor, both under the common law and under the civil law, argues that the principles of Christianity and those of the Mosaic era form the basic framework of European, and hence, also American jurisprudence. And this protection has been spread over Church property as well as the persons of the clergy. So generally have nations recognized this immunity in favor of the Church that the question of church property rights has seldom, if ever, been before the courts. Statements identifying the Christian religion with the common

law of a State, however, have not been wholly lacking. In *Updegraph v. The Commonwealth* (11 S. R. P. a., 394, 400), however, it was stated that "Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania." Like views were also expressed by Chancellor Kent, the great commentator on American law, in the case of *The People v. Ruggles* (8 Johns, 290, 294, 295). And in *Vidol v. Girard's Executors* (2 How 227, 228), Supreme Court of the United States, reference was made to the laws of Pennsylvania, and the Court declared that: "The Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania." Daniel Webster, when making his argument in the *Girard* case, endeavored to establish a ruling that a charity and charitable use must, under the law, necessarily partake of the idea of Christianity in all or at least some of its functions. He pointed out that these terms could not be opposed to the common Christian faith in its doctrine and practice.

Courts as a whole, however, have avoided making reference to Christianity and the specific doctrines of the Lord and Master, who, while upon the earth, declared, "I am the Church"; just why, has never been satisfactorily explained. It may be that laymen the world over were so happy in establishing the absolute temporal independence of their secular activities, which for so many centuries had been under the control of the Church, that even jurists were unwilling to recognize the rock foundation, with its picturesque Scriptural and historic background, upon which the law of charitable uses and trusts was built. Only such scholars as the late Justice Brewer and Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court, Pollock and Maitland, and Roscoe Pound, have indicated any willingness to accept the Scripture, which, since the days of Moses, has been accepted as the first law book of the world, and imbue it with the force of authority such as only case law and statutory law enjoy.

But, aside from the legal aspects,

Church property and the persons of the clergy have in all civilized nations received the administrative protection of the various Governments. This humane practice not only received the commendation of the earliest writers on international law, but also the favorable comment of such modern authorities as Story, Wheaton and others. In the United States the policy of the Government concerning the Church and its property, especially in time of war, was thoroughly outlined in the War Department's "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," ordered published on April 24, 1863. The following excerpts from these instructions explain the attitude of this Government toward the Church in time of war:

As a general rule, the property belonging to churches, to hospitals or other establishments of an exclusively charitable character, to establishments of education or foundations for the promotion of knowledge, whether public schools, universities, academies of learning or observatories, museums of the fine arts, or of a scientific character, is not to be considered public property in the sense of Paragraph 31; but it may be taxed or used when the public service may require it. * * *

The United States acknowledges and protects, in hostile countries occupied by it, religion and morality; strictly private property; the persons of the inhabitants, especially

those of women, and the sacredness of domestic relations. Offenses to the contrary shall be rigorously punished. This rule does not interfere with the right of the victorious invader to tax the people or their property, to levy forced loans, to billet soldiers, or to appropriate property, especially houses, lands, boats or ships and churches, for temporary and military uses.

Courts making adjudications in accordance with municipal law will, perhaps, avoid any direct rulings upon the issues pertaining to this subject matter should they ever become the basis of litigation because of the grave theological speculations involved therein. It is quite probable, however, that The Hague Tribunal and the newly organized World Court at Geneva, as well as the various mixed arbitral tribunals created under the Treaty of Versailles, will be called upon in due course to make decisions upon these far-reaching questions because of their international scope.

The matter of immunity of Church property is one calling sharply for conclusive adjudication by a competent tribunal. Vast assets throughout the world are involved and the question will continue a pressing international issue until some legal authority settles it for all time.



The Turkish Republic— 1925

By ELBERT CRANDALL STEVENS

Executive Secretary, Stamboul Branch in Turkey of the Young Men's
Christian Association

AFTER more than seven centuries of absolute despotism, at times fairly strong and progressive but latterly degenerating into weakness and extreme repression, which brought in extensive foreign intervention, with mixed benefit to the people, Turkey has at last thrown off the shackles both of the House of Osman and of European interference, and through powerful military and popular leaders has declared herself to be a free and sovereign republic. Although the first elections of Deputies of the people to the Grand National Assembly in 1923 were reported to be controlled by the leaders who brought the nation victorious from the late war with Greece, successfully formed a Government in defiance of the Allies and have maintained themselves as the only important political party ever since, the general impression is that the Assembly, however dominated today, represents the aspirations of the strong progressive element of the Turkish people.

In spite of imperfections of administration and certain serious injustices (for which counterparts might be found in the critical periods of other Governments now respectably stable, and which it is expected will pass with the natural subsiding of chauvinistic tendencies arising from an intense nationalism), new Turkey's presiding genius, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and his closest associates, Ismet Pasha, Rauf Bey, Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha, Fethi Bey, Dr. Adnan Bey and others, have shown consistent energy, astuteness and determination to preserve the national sovereignty for the good of the people and to secure

for the country a recognized place among the progressive nations of the world today. It is evident that the movement is a continuance of the revolution of 1908, which dethroned the tyrant Abdul Hamid and restored the Bill of Rights of 1876. The beginning of the democratic reform movement precedes that date by fully fifty years. Almost continuous warfare for centuries, which has cursed no nation more than Turkey, and unfortunate leadership even after 1908, retarded the realization of the great hopes which came to the surface in that year, and these same hopes are slowly and cautiously re-emerging now.

In spirit, the new republic is apparently "an emphatic adoption of the Western national idea," as Professor Toynbee says of the National Pact, which was drawn up in 1920 to guide the nationalist effort. In form, the Government follows a basic Constitution, which was adopted in the Assembly ses-

Mr. Stevens, as Executive Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., spent five years in Turkey, beginning with the early Fall of 1919, and witnessed the momentous events of those years upon the spot. Though most of his official work was done in Constantinople, he visited Smyrna three times—twice before and once after the conflagration that followed the Greek defeat—made a tour of the southern shore of the Black Sea as far as Trebizond and a more extensive trip around the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, and thence to Beirut, Damascus, Palestine, Egypt and Greece. He also went through Thrace during the retreat of the Greeks in September, 1922. In writing the article, he consulted Dr. Caleb J. Gates, President of Robert College, Constantinople; Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, High Commissioner of the United States in Turkey, and other prominent Americans, as well as many Turkish authorities. Mr. Stevens is a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. He has been connected with the Y. M. C. A. for the past twelve years, both in the United States and the Near East. He served with the Forty-second Division of the United States Army in France during the World War.

sion adjourned in the Spring of 1924 and which has certain unusual features. Both legislative and executive powers are vested in the Assembly, which has but one house, composed at present of 290 Deputies (theoretically one for each 20,000 of the male population), and which elects the President of the Republic as its executive officer, to serve for seven years, with right of re-election. The judiciary is independently constituted according to special laws prepared by the Assembly, but is not allowed to contravene the basic Constitution, which grants civic rights comparable with those of Western nations. Moslem religious courts have been declared incompetent for all secular matters and subject to civil intervention, even in matters of religion. The civil code is being built up according to advanced European models and is to be applied in equity to all citizens and sojourners in the land "without fear or favor."

One of the most hopeful provisions of the Constitution is that "the name Turk shall be understood to signify any citizen of the Republic of Turkey, without distinction of or reference to race or religion." In this definition of a Turkish citizen there are included

nearly 1,000,000 non-Moslems. This total is exclusive of Greeks subject to the now over half-completed exchange of population (an experiment generally considered as being worth trying, in spite of hardships which have latterly been slightly mitigated by more gradual procedure, but likely to entail economic loss for both Turkey and Greece as against possible political gain in tranquillity); and also exclusive of the millions of inhabitants of the territories lost to Turkey by the World War (perhaps 150,000 Greeks to be left in Constantinople, up to 300,000 Armenians in various sections, about 100,000 Jews, found chiefly in Constantinople and Smyrna, and lesser thousands of Bulgarians, Assyrians, Vlachs, Russians, Italians, Syrians and others). The title of Turkish citizen further includes Moslem Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, Circassians, Lazes, Pomaks, Dunmays, Tartars, Euruks, Kizilbashis, Persians and others, aggregating another million and more. Lastly it includes from five to seven million racial Turks. The grand total of population of the Turkish Nation today is variously estimated as between seven and ten or even twelve million. Eight or nine million is more gen-



Buildings formerly occupied by the Turkish War Department, now used by the National Turkish University

erally conceded, whereas the old empire of 1908 had some 24,000,000.

Every one of the elements mentioned has political sensibilities capable of being excited by strong leadership, but is inclined to be peaceful and friendly to the others when let alone and justly governed. Perhaps the greatest problem will be to win over the Armenians and Greeks who remain in Turkey to a loyal cooperation with the new nation, for they are most dubious of being accorded fair treatment, in view of the blasted political hopes of their erstwhile leaders, as well as the traditional bitterness existing between the ruling element and these peoples of alien blood.

THE NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

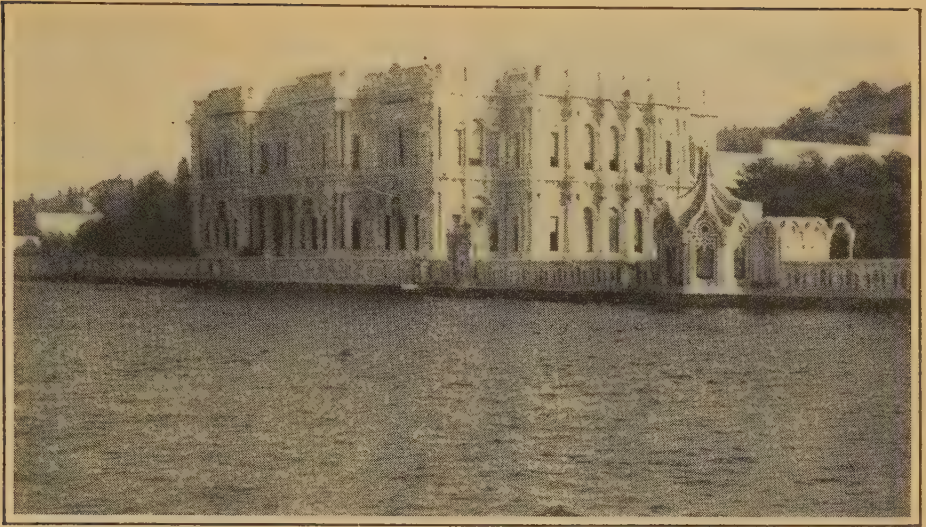
By the Treaty of Lausanne, 1922, which has now been ratified by all the Allied Powers, and which defines Turkey's international obligations, the territorial limits of the country are definitely set to cover the great peninsula known as Asia Minor or Anatolia and the smaller one of Eastern Thrace.

A small but important strip of territory on the southern border around Mosul (Mesopotamia) has long been the subject of controversy between the Governments of Turkey and Great Britain, and requires some consideration here. On one hand was the Turkish claim to the old vilayet of Mosul, with an area of some 35,130 square miles and a population of nearly 3,000,000, most of whom are Arabs, and on the other hand the claim of the new Arab Republic of Iraq, a claim based on the British mandate for Iraq and incorporated in the document and supported by a plebiscite of the Mosuli held in 1920. The treaty between Iraq and Great Britain was ratified, with the stipulation that the treaty should be invalid if Great Britain does not protect Iraq's entire rights in the Mosul vilayet. The cession of the vilayet to Turkey would mean surrendering control of one great trade route to Bagdad. Great Britain referred the controversy to the League of Nations on Aug. 6, 1924, when the Lausanne Treaty became ef-

fective, recalling that the treaty provided for settlement by the League if the problem had not been settled before that time. The League's discussions with the representatives of each party were complicated in September, 1924, by alleged Turkish incursions across the Mosul frontier. In October each side accused the other of military aggressions and insisted on its own interpretation of the boundary line. The dispute was finally referred back to the League Council for decision. The Council at its session in Brussels on Oct. 29 reached a temporary settlement of the boundary, involving some compromise on each side and appointing a new Iraq Boundary Commission, whose duty it should be to fix a permanent boundary. Fethi Bey, the Turkish Premier, speaking before the Turkish Assembly on Nov. 27, 1924, declared himself in favor of an amicable settlement with Great Britain. The national boundary of Turkey will, to some extent, be affected by the ultimate decision.

Roughly, the new borders of Turkey, which mark a loss of more than half of the territory held before the World War, form a rectangle about 900 miles long east and west and 330 miles average width, lying in longitude east 26 to 46 and latitude north 36 to 42. The advantages of this smaller, more compact territory are obvious in its readier management and in the removal of old areas of continuous unrest peopled almost entirely by non-Turks.

Through the northwest corner of Turkish territory cuts the important waterway formed by the Bosphorus, Marmora and the Dardanelles Straits, all of which have at last been defortified, and from that corner diagonally across plains, plateau and mountains to near the southeast corner runs a great section of the one-time Berlin-Bagdad Railway. It was recently reported that the Turkish Government was trying to purchase this section from the British and French holders, who had bought the shares from Swiss trustees of German interests. Mention of these two world-famous highways, which cross at



Beylerbey Kiosk, formerly occupied by the Caliph Abdul Medjid II., now set apart for a girls' school

Constantinople, brings to mind the great part they have played in history as ancient and modern trade and military routes and as the objects of manoeuvre of many a Government.

TURKS INSIST ON SOVEREIGNTY

The position of the land now called Turkey can never be other than of first-rate importance, for it is one of the most central and critical communicating places of all the world. But the new Turkey is determined to root out every vestige of foreign control over this coveted territory, which happens to be her own. Her leaders apparently agree with Professor E. M. Earle that "it was not German imperialism alone which menaced the peace of the Near East and of the world, but *all* imperialism." Rather than temporary gain from alliance with others, they want a Turkey run by and for Turks. They are willing to deal with other nations only on a basis of absolute reciprocity, and only in such matters and methods as do not appear to threaten the sovereignty of the Turkish Republic.

This position, held with an obstinacy that is reasonable in principle but harmfully exaggerated in certain in-

stances, explains the uncompromising attitude of the representatives of Turkey at Lausanne, their profound distrust of the European powers, their insistence on the abolition of the capitulations, their hostility to foreign schools, missions, relief work and business enterprises, their guarded acceptance of America's disinterestedness, and even their elimination of the religious hierarchy that tied them up in the Pan-Islamic idea. For it is clear that the political has far outweighed the devotional element in the Mohammedanism of New Turkey. In abolishing the Caliphate and beginning the establishment of a lay Government, she has only run true to form as the traditional iconoclast of the Moslem family. Plainly and recklessly she tells her scandalized sister nations that they have held her down long enough and that she is now going to live her own life as she sees fit.

The dangers that beset her ways are many and formidable, ranging from the reactions of her aroused co-religionists to the cajoleries of European diplomats and the incitements of Bolshevik propaganda. So far, however, she has confined herself strictly to business.

Probably nowhere else in the world has business been more bound up with affairs of Governments than in Turkey. For 2,581 years the site of Constantinople has been continuously coveted by many of the nations of the world, both for its strategic position and for its commercial importance as an emporium and distributing centre. The hidden riches of Anatolia and its trade routes to the East have been the goal of many a deal in which big Governments have taken a hand and the source of credit by which the local Government has financed itself. In spite of a high percentage of loss on the commercial balance sheet, of devastating wars, of momentous changes of control, of dead seasons, of occasional oppressive restrictions and of lax guarantees, trade has vigorously survived and has kept alive populations and perpetuated a wholesome competition of races, nations, business organizations and men.

UNEXPLOITED RESOURCES

Internal resources have remained relatively unexploited. Imports, therefore, considerably exceeded exports in 1924, reaching a value of \$75,000,000, as compared with \$35,000,000 in 1923. The margin of profit comes mainly from the handling of goods from Eastern and Black Sea ports in transit to the West, North and South, and vice versa. Chief imports are textiles, flour, sugar, canned milk, fruits, animal and vegetable oils, petroleum products, metals, machinery, live stock, paper and small luxuries. Exports are tobacco, figs, olives, raisins, nuts, gums, licorice, opium, mohair, wool, sheep casings, silk, chrome ore, emery stone and the single manufactured article of carpets, except for some small bazaar goods made up in the country. Growing of wheat, fruits, vegetables and some cotton and hemp in the fertile coast plains and in valleys which cut inland through the fringe of rocky hills surrounding the barren, dish-shaped plateau of Anatolia, and over perhaps a fifth of the area of Thrace and Rumelia; the raising of sheep,

goats, water buffalo and silkworms, and coastal fishing, provide the people of the country with practically all their simple requirements. Crude salt is taken in quantity from several lakes in the central plateau. A fair quality of coal is mined in sections near the Black Sea coast. Building stone is plentiful, and a few forest tracts supply firewood and common, but not much hard or finer wood, for building purposes. Scientific forestry is but little practiced, but seriously needed. Although much expert handwork and some small-scale manufacturing is to be seen, large factories and major industrial facilities are, as intimated above, still practically nonexistent in Turkey.

Surveys have indicated, however, that many of the materials for industrial development could be produced in abundance. Coal, iron, copper, lead, silver and oil are the principal minerals available. At present only 2,300 miles of railroad are in operation, roads are generally bad, and though camels, donkeys and buffalo carts carry unbelievable loads, they are quite incapable of transporting ores in quantity. Shipping to and from more than a dozen excellent ports on the 3,500 miles of sea-coast remains one of the dominant industries. Extensive irrigation projects have been outlined, and these, together with the more rapid introduction of modern machinery, would greatly increase the agricultural output, which is the goal of the other and major industry of the country—farming. The climate shows nearly all varieties, but is generally more temperate than is commonly supposed.

In view of the opportunities in Turkey for exploitation not only of trade but also of production, of the fact that the Turkish people themselves had had insufficient technical experience and capital to make much of either, and of the further fact that a weak Government can be coaxed with cash or diplomatically induced to give concessions, foreign companies long found Turkey a profitable field for their ventures. The capitulations, given first in 1535 to dis-

embarrass the Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent of the troubles of foreign residents who could not reasonably be compelled to submit to Moslem law, had grown into a great system setting up within Turkey colonies of foreigners which were virtually separate small States. With such privilege in their hands, energetic and able foreigners organized, directed and drew profit from the greater part of the industrial and commercial enterprises, excepting farming and fishing, in the country, including principally mining, silk culture, tobacco curing, fig packing, public utilities, railroading, shipping, import and export, insurance and banking. Secondary positions in their companies were by right or favor given mostly to non-Moslem natives, and much of the remaining business was more or less effectively handled by these elements. Moreover, owing to the reckless borrowing of extravagant sovereigns and the strategy of European diplomats, the finances of Turkey were brought under the control of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, composed almost en-

tirely of representatives of foreign creditors, and which thereby virtually held the country in economic vassalage.

NEW MEASURES TO REGAIN CONTROL

With the establishment of the new republic a revolutionary change occurred in this traditional situation. Economic and financial control by foreigners was naturally considered as subversive of the dignity and sovereignty of the nation. The capitulations, which had been abrogated at the entry of Turkey into the World War, then revived under the allied occupation, were again swept away and in no uncertain fashion. Having obtained a reduction in the national debt from £120,000,000 to 80,000,000 (Turkish pounds)—a reduction in proportion to the territories lost from the old empire of 1912—the Government is carrying on a so far successful struggle to control the distribution of revenues and payment to her creditors, which she insists on making in paper instead of gold. In contravention of the constitutional provision that all



Children of Turkish refugees from Greece in Constantinople

sons of Turkey should be considered Turks without distinction, effective measures have been taken to persuade foreign companies, particularly those holding concessions of public utilities, to employ Moslems as far as possible in preference to others. All concerns have been obliged to register and to pay substantial taxes. Foreigners and natives alike must also pay high income taxes, also school and road assessments, collection of which, however, has not yet been thoroughly or fairly handled. Import duties were raised in general from 11 per cent. to 55 per cent., a prohibitive figure for many articles on which the rate will thus doubtless eventually be forced down. Embargo is in force on foreign coal. By every sign and in every way the new Government is set on securing both nominal and actual economic mastery within the country's borders.

Whether or not she will succeed is not yet evident. Many have prophesied failure, owing to lack of experience and capacity on the part of those whose enterprises are being encouraged by the Government. Certainly business has declined with alarming rapidity during the past two years, particularly that carried on by foreign firms. Scores, if not hundreds, of these have been discouraged or lost faith and hence wound up their business and gone home. Yet substantial older firms and a few vigorous new ones are adapting themselves to the new conditions. The magnificent harbors of Constantinople and Smyrna, but recently so crowded with ships, merchant and naval, are now, it is true, relatively bare. Life has been far quieter and even more orderly since the big battle fleets of the Allies sailed away, but the absence of cargo fleets as well gives cause for concern. Competent Moslems are but slowly forthcoming to replace discharged or departed employees of other faiths.

FACING RECONSTRUCTION

Yet there seems to be no valid fundamental reason why the racial Turk cannot learn to work in businesslike fashion. Soldiering, shepherding, farming and Government functioneering have been his chief occupations in the past. He must now work to live, for the Government can and will no longer keep up a large civil list and relatively few private fortunes are available for the support of a leisure class. Training and capital are recognized to be the two great requisites which are at present considerably lacking. The preparation of Turkish experts is an educational matter which can be developed within a few years. Native capital will come slowly, with only a small amount of Government subsidy available. Foreign capital will come back cautiously with a gradual growth of confidence, and the eventual application of the Citizenship law will encourage the able non-Moslem nationals still remaining in the country and help to keep up standards of efficiency. With the wreckage of war in men and materials, the recent devastation of a great section of Anatolia, the not yet ended threat of foreign intervention from predatory motives, the problems arising from the now more than half completed exchange of scores of thousands of Greeks from the interior with Moslems from Greece, and a large program of political and educational reform, too much cannot be expected in a short time. The currency situation, however, is favorable and preparations are being actively pushed for the economic reconstruction. The Turkish people have an opportunity and an incentive for work, however, which they have never had before, and they may well surprise the skeptics and gratify the friends who have faith in them. It is believed by sober men of affairs in Turkey that, given sustained peace, recovery will come slowly but surely.

Seven Years of History in New Palestine

By "XENOPHON"

The writer, a Palestinian publicist and authority on Near East affairs, is well known under this pseudonym as a contributor to current periodicals

SEVEN years is no definite period in history, which is seldom divided into such small chapters. But the New Palestine is a historical creation which baffles and defies many a hard and fast historical rule. Itself the outcome of a long historical process, it has disregarded many otherwise infallible rules of history, and though the seven years of the New Palestine, the Palestine which began with the inauguration of the Balfour Declaration policy, cannot be taken as an independent epoch in the history of the country, they may, nevertheless, serve as a criterion to foreshadow the future destinies of this small, yet vastly significant, land of three faiths.

The genesis of the New Palestine cannot be understood without a knowledge of the land's past history. Until seven years ago no conquering nation worthy of the name had stepped over the land. On the other hand, no civilization that had been established there had failed to leave its impress on the land. The archaeological treasures of the country, revealed or indicated, bear testimony to this. There are traces of innumerable cultures and civilizations; some gave way to more powerful ones, some collided, some amalgamated with others and produced a bastard type of pseudo-civilization—that type the most fertile soil of which has ever been the Levant. But, if it be true that Palestine's soil has absorbed many civilizations, it is equally true that few, if any, of the conquerors have left the land accompanied by what may be termed "true Palestinian assets." Greeks, Romans, Persians, Parthians, Arabians and Turks have left Palestine one after an-

other without carrying with them any of those attributes which only Palestine could breed. They left it, and their sojourn in the land was effaced from their historical records immediately upon their leaving the land.

It fell to the lot of one race, however, to carry with them throughout their exile from the land which has given to the world the Christian Bible Palestine's memories, Palestine's culture and even, in spite of many statements to the contrary, Palestine's language. They were scattered throughout the continents, but, though at a considerable geographical and historical distance from the old Jewish Palestine, they never ceased to give lip service to that longing for the land, for its upbuilding and reconstruction, for the restoration of the people to the land and the land to the people. And the records of Jewish history in practically every land and every epoch can tell of not a few groups of patriots who have attempted to translate this ideal into reality; but, notwithstanding all these attempts, the land remained a "terra incognita" to the larger field of civilized human endeavors. This situation changed seven years ago with the inception of the British régime in the country, which, assisted by Jewish help and energy, opened a new chapter in the history of the land. It is difficult today to imagine the land without British administration or the continual influx of Jewish interest, Jewish funds and Jewish immigration into the land.

It is safe to say that since the seven years of the Balfour declaration in favor of a Jewish National Home in Palestine [November, 1917] the Jewish

settlement on the land, or, to use a term favorable to Jewish ears, the Jewish Yishub, has increased some 50,000 men. In the last seven years the immigration into the country equals, if it does not outnumber, the Jewish influx during the forty years that Zionist activity has taken anything like a form of organized movement. This sum total is not ignored by even the bitterest critics of British policy in the land. The progress of the Yishub may be observed in every sphere of Jewish activity and endeavor. It is visible throughout the land and finds true expression in the great urban development.

The only Jewish city in the world, Tel-Aviv, has increased seven times its original size and over thirty times its population. Authentic statistics show that in 1911 Tel-Aviv was a little suburb of Jaffa with sixty-five houses. At present the larger Tel-Aviv contains 1,830 houses with 9,700 rooms, which gives an increase of fifteen times the original number of houses and approximately twenty-eight times the original number of rooms. These figures do not include some 700 wooden barracks in the vicinity of Tel-Aviv. The estimated value of the houses is at least £E.1,000,000 [£E., Egyptian pound, is

worth \$4.99, as compared with the English pound, \$4.87], while the value of the land, vacant and cultivated, within the Tel-Aviv area is given as £E.1,000,000. There are, moreover, several industrial establishments in which large sums of money have been invested. The Rutenberg plant and the Silicate plant alone, each worth £E.100,000, take the lead and several other factories, some with a small but successful record, in which over £E.300,000 have been invested, follow. Together with other public and private assets, roads, sidewalks, water installation and small factories, the value of the capital invested in Tel-Aviv may be safely taken as approaching £E.3,000,000.

Nor is urban development confined to the new Jewish city of Tel-Aviv. Practically every other town in Palestine has extended in all directions and has seen itself surrounded by a number of suburbs of the garden city type. In Haifa, Tiberias and in and around Jerusalem new modern and comfortable city and residential buildings have sprung up, all of which form a striking contrast to the adjacent ancient quarters. The increased building industry has carried with it its sequel in town planning, and,



Palestine and its neighboring States



Keystone

The beginnings of an agricultural colony in Palestine: Huts taking the place of tents and the ground being prepared for irrigation and cultivation

though some criticism has been leveled at the diversified architectural experiments in Tel-Aviv, there is gradually developing in the other city suburbs a style that is more appropriate. Imitation of the Western type of building is on the decrease; more originality is shown in design, and an adaptation to Palestine's sky and landscape is being manifested in the new buildings. It would be, however, premature, and perhaps an exaggeration, to speak of a purely Palestinian architectural style, but the strong opposition expressed by many critics, Palestinian and other, to the Tel-Aviv medley of styles may be taken as an omen that a purely local style is in the course of creation.

IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Urban development is not an insignificant factor of Palestine's growing prosperity, but it is agriculture, the staple industry of the country, that must be looked to for the tangible results achieved in reconstruction work.

In this agricultural domain the problem before the agricultural pioneers

was a problem of restoration rather than one of introduction and inception. It was not essential for the Jewish colonists actually to establish agriculture in the land; they had to revive it and adapt it to modern conditions and modern requirements. The Jewish farmer and land worker has not yet found the solution of all agricultural problems; he is still standing at the crossroads, consulting experts and critics, Palestinian and foreign, Jewish as well as non-Jewish. He is still looking for the ideal type of farmer and farm, and experimenting on the "individual settlement" (the old-type colonies, of which the representative types are Rishon, Rehoboth, Hedera, Zichron and Roshpina). He is still choosing between this and the more modern type, the "Kevuzah," or commune, a bone of contention between the advocates of the two schools in agriculture. Agriculture in Palestine today is, however, greatly improved, and one need not travel far to be convinced of this.

The improvement in the financial conditions of the old-type, mostly pre-war, colonies is chiefly, though not

solely, due to the introduction of new cultures and new branches of agriculture. The civil administration, since its inception, has introduced measures for the betterment of agriculture, a betterment not without its effect on the Arab agricultural settlements. The fellah (Arab peasant), a sparing user of machinery and conservative almost beyond belief in his agricultural methods, never in need of large requirements, whether for his home or for his person or his estate, has awakened to the benefits to be derived from modern systems and is endeavoring to utilize them. Manual labor is giving way to the machine; the donkey, the ox, the camel, which for ages have been indispensable in these Eastern lands, are gradually being replaced, and modern machinery, lorries and other motor vehicles are now not uncommon. Miserable mud or clay huts are making room for solid stone buildings. The European plow is in great demand in the villages, and revenue collectors are able to record larger tithe receipts.

So much for the improvement of the old settlements existing in pre-war days. Much more, however, can be said of new creations in lands formerly barren and desolate. The desolate but erstwhile extremely fertile Valley of Jezreel has been restored to life and its twenty new agricultural settlements are gleams of verdure in this region. The land in Jewish possession, which at the end of the war represented not more than 400,000 dunam (some 100,000 acres), amounts now to over double this figure, if the last purchase made by the Jewish National Fund, a body under Zionist control, is included; over 1,400 men have been settled on the land by the Zionist organization, most of them in the newly acquired land in the Valley of Jezreel. The Government census held in 1922 gives the number of Jews living on the land as 18 per cent. of the Jewish population. Figures are dry reading as a rule, but the following figures show at a glance the wonderful increase of a community in a direction not normally associated with the chosen race: The

number of Jews living on the land was: From 1902-3, 5,500; from 1912-13, 10,000; from 1922-23, 18,000.

It has been said that the Jewish community has yet to find ways and means of solving its agricultural difficulties; these are manifold and require long experience, uninterrupted study and intensive research work. To this end an Agricultural Institute has been established in Tel-Aviv, with branch stations in Ben-Shemen for the coastal plain and Deganiah for the Jordan Valley and the North. The stations undertake research and experiment work; they experiment with different farming methods, including fertilization and dry farming, deal with the acclimatization of varieties from outside Palestine and undertake plantation of crops of a commercial nature, flax, sugar and tobacco.

Professor Elwood Mead of California, an agricultural expert, was asked to inspect and express his views as to future prospects. Professor Mead, himself a non-Jew and one who may be accepted as an unbiased and unprejudiced judge, presented a most optimistic report on the real and potential agricultural resources of the land.

Palestine, always first and foremost an agricultural land, cannot, however, change its character in a day. Over 70 per cent. of the population, in Turkish days, lived on the land, but no land can support today a reasonably large population without industry. Palestinians recognize this indisputable truth. Palestine is not, however, rich in the numerous resources, which give the incentive to and are the foundation of any industry. This gap the Rutenberg scheme is endeavoring to remedy. Rutenberg's projects, which were subjected to a detailed examination by Colonial Office experts, are on the way to realization. The necessary sums have been raised and a small plant is already supplying electrical power at cheap rates in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. This hydro-electrical power, when available, will give a great stimulus to industry and industrial life for the water problem in Palestine, unlike that in other countries,

is not a question of quantity and availability, but one of distribution and exploitation. Large tracts hitherto barren and seemingly uncultivable would then be available for cultivation. The sugar industry, now under consideration by interested capitalists, would be the first to benefit thereby. Most of the enormous cosmetic treasures now hidden in the Judaeen hills would come to light and once again Palestine might provide a large part of the world's requirements in perfumery and allied necessities. Meanwhile, industry is not awaiting Rutenberg's plant. Several mills established in Haifa and Jaffa, and whose owners possess considerable capital, are manufacturing flour, oil and bricks, so far with satisfactory results.

INTENSIVE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

There is also the cultural aspect of the New Palestine. It is true that progress is best manifested in the increased wealth and prosperity of the country, but it is equally true that the marvelous cultural achievement is chiefly responsible for the title of honor: "The New Palestine." It would be inconceivable for the "People of the Book" to return to Palestine with their medley of tongues and civilizations. It was, therefore, incumbent upon them first to revive their Hebrew language, hitherto used chiefly as a sacerdotal or, at best, a Scriptural language. It was necessary to adapt it to modern requirements and, at the same time, give a new impetus to Jewish learning and Jewish culture. The two most representative fosterers of this cultural movement were the late Eliezer Ben Yehuda, scholar, journalist and eminent linguist, who was chiefly responsible for the transformation of Hebrew

from a language used for written communications into a spoken vernacular, and the well-known Hebrew thinker and essayist, known by his pen name as Achad Haam, now resident in Tel-Aviv. Different and distant as these two Jewish scholars were from each other in their mental outlook and in their ideals, they unconsciously strove toward the same final object—the restoration of Jewish culture in Palestine and the revival of the Hebrew language. A complete educational system, consisting of over 120 institutions of all stages, beginning with the kindergarten and on through the public and high schools, provides for over 12,500 Jewish children and youths a thoroughly Hebrew and at the same time humane education. The expense, some £E.140,000, is provided, with the exception of about £E.2,600 given by the Government, by the Jewish community in Palestine, in which the Zionist organization shares. This edifice of education will be crowned by the Hebrew University, which, after the manner of most Continental universities, will begin in the form of institutes. The so-called "Hebrew Institute," or the Institute for Hebraics and Semitics, will open its gates this Winter, and the Biochemical



Publishers' Photo Service

At the Mikveh Israel Agricultural College, near Jaffa, Palestine

Institute has already embarked on systematic research work.

The problem of amalgamation—the molding, so to speak—of a people is naturally a difficult one and one that is engaging the minds of eminent men of letters. To assimilate the large influx of immigrants into a specifically Palestinian atmosphere, to teach them to speak one language and think in one mentality, is a formidable task, but not beyond the possibilities of realization. Yeoman service has been done in this respect and, though polylingual, the Jewish community in Palestine presents a more homogeneous character than any other community in the Diaspora. The differences between Sephardic or Spanish Jews and Ashkenazic Jews—that is, Jews originating from Eastern and Central Europe—are gradually disappearing and are now hardly noticeable. [“Sephardic” and “Ashkenazic,” both words of Hebrew origin, signify respectively “Spanish” and “German.”] The community is proving itself competent to absorb all elements coming from every country on the globe.

Legislation has assisted considerably in removing the differences which have arisen in the mixed Jewish groups. The establishment of a united rabbinate and the appointment of two rabbis representing Ashkenazic and Sephardic interests went a long way toward unification. Jewish religious courts were reduced to a minimum and controversies over the administration of charitable and religious funds no longer divide the community.

PALESTINE'S ABLE ADMINISTRATORS

A land exhausted by war and war ravages, depleted of its resources, Palestine was badly in need of efficient and devoted administrators—people whose love for the land should equal, if not outweigh, their administrative capacity. In this the country was fortunate from the outset. With very few exceptions, it has attracted to its shores administrators who were as efficient as they were enthusiastic for the land's future. Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of

Palestine, in his interim report of June, 1921, in speaking of the conditions prior to that time and of the devoted labors of the Military Administration under that distinguished statesman, General Allenby, said:

When General Allenby's army swept over Palestine in a campaign as brilliant and decisive as any recorded in history, it occupied a country exhausted by war. The population had been depleted; the people of the towns were in severe distress; much cultivated land was left untilled; the stocks of cattle and horses had fallen to a low ebb; the woodlands, always scanty, had almost disappeared; orange groves had been ruined by lack of irrigation; commerce had long been at a standstill. A Military Administration was established to govern the country. For nearly two years it labored with great devotion for its restoration.

The work of the Military Administration was continued with renewed efforts, increased means and perhaps with larger vision by the civil administration set up under General Allenby. “*Ne pas trop gouverner*” (“not to overgovern”) was his motto throughout, and he was fortunate in reaping toward the end of his régime the beginning of his harvest. He possessed a sympathetic yet thorough appreciation of the land's complex problems, a keen desire to enhance the public welfare and to establish on strong foundations an impartial government which should rule in accordance with the guiding principles of British justice, irrespective of creeds and communities.

He was assisted by a staff of enthusiastic and idealistic administrators, among whom were the wise and far-sighted Sir Wyndham Deedes, Sir Gilbert Clayton, an efficient and impartial administrator; Sir Ronald Storrs, permanent Honorary Citizen of Jerusalem, and Norman Bentwich, jurist, scholar and man of letters, whose personality, to quote an opinion of The Daily Mail correspondent, would have brought him to a position of eminence in England. The list is not exhaustive, as the efficiency of several Government departments testify. The names given, however, are likely to go down in the annals of the country, inasmuch as these men



Publishers' Photo Service

Tel-Aviv, Jewish colony near Jaffa, Palestine

were administratively responsible for the creation of the New Palestine.

It would be unfair to speak of the New Palestine without mentioning those members of the Jewish community who have whole-heartedly labored to create it. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, a household name in any Jewish home, but particularly in Palestine, takes the lead. The mantle of Dr. Theodor Herzl, founder of the Zionist Organization, has fallen upon the shoulders of the popular leader Dr. Chaim Waizman, who, with Sokolov, has contributed most to the vitalization and stimulation of the Zion movement since the cessation of hostilities and to securing its consideration as a world factor. Assisted by a number of colleagues, he laid the foundations of a healthy community in the New Palestine. Invaluable service was given also by Mr. Ussishkin, the indefatigable Zionist leader; by David Yellin, the distinguished linguist, savant and educationalist, who symbolizes the perfect harmony between the old and the new; by Colonel F. Kish, an Anglo-Jewish officer with a distinguished war

record, who with his tact and courtesy helped to dissipate many a baseless fear and suspicion cherished in Arab quarters; by the labor leader Ben-Zvi, of reasonable and moderate views; by Ben-Avi, spokesman of the middle classes, and by scores of others.

The new pioneers, the so-called *chalutzim*, teachers, old and new residents, assisted by enthusiastic outside help and a benevolent mandatory power, are factors in the building of a country which bids fair to become a most important link in the imperial British chain. It is premature to speak of the exact status of the New Palestine in future international relations. Palestine is at the very genesis of its existence, but he would not be accused of an excess of optimism who would look to better and more prosperous days, to an improvement in every domain in life and to the acquirement of a solid footing in international life for this young country. One of the world's eternal problems is nearing its solution, and, even if the Jewish problem is not wholly solved by the Jewish National Home, the New Palestine will

remain one of the few and undoubtedly the most honest attempts at its solution.

But, lest it be thought that everything is now hopeful in Palestine, it should be mentioned that quite apart from the internal difficulties, of which some have been mentioned, there await solution a number of more or less "foreign" problems, the most important of which is the distrust felt by the Arab element of the population for the new Palestine Government. Though Palestine is underpopulated, it is by no means unpopulated, nor can it be called "no man's land," and of this the Jewish community is fully aware. Many attempts at a rapprochement between the two communities, attempts which would have met with total failure four years ago, are now political possibilities, and both communities are beginning to realize that they are indispensable to each other and the country as well. There is better feeling between Jews and Arabs today,

and this is an omen of improvement, progress and patriotism. Without undue optimism one may say that the future of the country seems assured. Quoting again Sir Herbert Samuel:

The prospects of Palestine are not limited, on the economic side, merely to a return to the standard attained before the war. It has the possibilities of a far more prosperous future. Small in area, comparable in size to Belgium or Wales, its geographical position rendered it in ancient times, and may render it again, a centre of no small importance to the commercial traffic of the larger territories that surround it.

The ultimate form and status of the relations between the two races will, no doubt, be effected by a process which may take decades. But the New Palestine, in spite of a number of difficulties and the need of herculean efforts remains, to quote J. L. Garvin, the only fascinating international enterprise undertaken since the armistice.



International

A modern apartment house in Jerusalem, erected by a retired New York builder. It overlooks the Pool of Hezekiah

Seeking the Secret of the Sun in Eclipse

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, and representative of all press associations on the United States Navy dirigible Los Angeles during the eclipse

THE study of the total solar eclipse of Jan. 24, 1925, was favored by weather so fair and faultless that observers on land, on sea and in the air had their hopes and eyes gratified with one of the most brilliant coronas in history. Dotted along the 100-mile wide area, which extended from Minnesota eastward, bisected New York and Providence on the Atlantic Coast, and ended just north of the British Isles, were hundreds of observers. Professional astronomers with elaborate equipment, amateurs with special cameras, and astronomers for a day, armed only with smoked glass, all watched the majestic phenomenon and endeavored to contribute to our scientific knowledge of the sun. The star that we call the sun is so important that if it were eclipsed for a month there would be few left to observe the final stage of that phenomenon. In normal times the great brilliance of the sun prevents us from learning much about it. When the moon covers the fiery solar mass and exposes the rare and exquisite halo of the corona and prominences, then for a few brief seconds the astronomer has the opportunity of attempting to solve the sun's secrets. That explains why scientists worked for months that they might utilize efficiently the minute or two of totality granted them on Jan. 24. In all the years that have elapsed since 1860, when photography was first applied to eclipse observation, only a total of about one hour of totality has been available.

The corona was the principal attraction during the eclipse to both scientific observer and layman. Only when the moon completely blots out the light of

the sun does the aurora of light become visible around the inky disk. It was a sight that cannot be forgotten, and even if it were not useful to science it would have deserved attention because of its beauty. In reality the corona reveals the constitution of the sun. Composed of particles of the sun's incandescent mass, forced off perhaps by the pressure of light itself, changing its shape and form with the sunspot cycle, sending to earth tidings of an unknown element, coronium, that cannot be found here, and being affected by what seems to be the strong electrical field of the magnet-like sun, the corona was the object of closest study during total eclipses. This pearly glow about the sun, which extended several sun diameters away from it at the recent eclipse, indicates that the sun is actually disintegrating. Is the solar system, ask the astronomers, being permeated gradually with the products of the dissolution of the sun, and is the corona one of the visible signs of such dissolution? Is there a gradual growth of this nebulous appendage of the sun, or is the solar activity on the decrease? Is the corona all that is left of an extensive nebulous envelope which at one time surrounded the sun, but will ultimately fade away? These are some of the questions to answer which photographs were taken and visual observations made on Jan. 24.

Although elaborate apparatus operated by many astronomers was concentrated at many points in the path of totality, including New Haven, Middletown, Poughkeepsie and many other localities, the most interesting expedition was that of the United States Naval Observatory, which observed the eclipse

a mile in the air over the Atlantic Ocean some twenty miles east of Montauk Point, Long Island. The great navy dirigible, *Los Angeles*, was utilized for carrying the first eclipse observation by dirigible. What would the astronomer Janssen, who discovered new spectrum lines in the sun during the eclipse of 1868, have said if he had been told that fifty-seven years later over 2,000,000 cubic feet of helium gas causing those lines would hold astronomers aloft so that they might search for still newer elements in the corona of the sun? Piloted by Commander J. H. Klein Jr. to a mile above the surface of the ocean, avoiding a lower menacing layer of clouds and rising above the hazy smoke of civilization, the giant airship furnished a nearly ideal observatory for the astronomers, who were headed by Captain Edwin T. Pollock, Superintendent United States Naval Observatory. Eighteen photographic plates were exposed through the four telescopic cameras on board, operated by Professor George H. Peters and C. B. Watts, Naval Observatory astronomers. C. C. Keiss of the United States Bureau of Standards, operating a photographic spectroscope, exposed four plates, while W. L. Richardson, navy photographer, with motion picture camera lashed to the exterior of a motor gondola, took many feet of film. In a small cockpit on the top of the dirigible A. K. Peterson, Chief Photographer United States Navy, and an aviator, braved a frigid breeze blowing 40 miles an hour to secure motion pictures of the partial eclipse and the corona. Two members of the dirigible's crew manned a special automatically timed camera for photographing the fleeting shadow bands that preceded and followed totality, and officers and members of the crew sketched the corona as it appeared visually.

Descriptions and drawings of the corona, when compared and discussed after the eclipse flight ended, revealed the fact that the corona had been unusually bright and that the coronal streamers on the upper right or northwest side of the sun showed remarkable extension.

Long streamers were also visible extending from the lower left or southeast side of the eclipsed sun, while the corona was bushy and short at right angles to these two directions. This is characteristic of the corona at a time when there are not many sunspots and this coincided with expectations, since a minimum point in the sunspot cycle of 11.3 years was reached only two years ago. Never before had the sun's corona been satisfactorily observed at just this point in the sunspot cycle, however, and it was expected that the photographs obtained would be of great value to the astronomers who are attempting to solve the riddle of the composition, cause and movements of the magnificent surroundings of the sun, seen by man only during eclipses.

In my personal observations of the corona from the *Los Angeles*, on which I represented all press associations, I paid special attention to the prominences or great sheets of incandescent gases that are seen jutting out from the edge of the moon-darkened sun. I was able to distinguish three of these prominences, one just slightly east of the top of the sun, one on the east limb and one on the west limb. I was surprised that these were not as red as descriptions of previous eclipses had led me to expect. In fact, they looked to me to be yellow-orange; yet they were in distinct contrast to the brilliant white of the corona that extended outward at least two diameters of the sun. When a great jewel of light appeared on the west edge of the sun, I noticed that I could still see the corona, although the increasing light had blotted out most of its extension. I started counting seconds and it was not until 22 seconds had passed that the corona was entirely obliterated by the reappearing sun. Luna maintained her reputation for fickleness when she caused the eclipse to board the *Los Angeles* eight seconds late, according to Professor F. B. Littell of the Naval Observatory, who had charge of the timing of totality. Lags of from three to five seconds are reported from land stations. Time sig-

nals were received on the Los Angeles by radio and the ship's chronometer was checked before and after totality.

What is believed to be the first photograph of the spectrum of the sun's corona in the deep red region was obtained as a result of the expedition by C. C. Keiss, physicist of the United States Bureau of Standards, who operated a spectroscopic camera fitted with special plates sensitive to red. He obtained a coronal spectrum that extended further out into the deep red than any heretofore known. The red light in the corona does not extend quite to the limit of visibility, while ordinary sunlight has wave lengths that are far beyond the visible. Owing to a slight motion of the camera the images were somewhat blurred, but it was expected that important qualitative results would be obtained after the photographs have been measured and more carefully examined. Mr. Keiss carried on his ob-

servations with the hope of getting more information about the unidentified element, called coronium, which is believed to cause in the coronal spectrum a brilliant green line and several other lines discovered in 1869 and unclaimed by the known chemical elements. Further examination of Mr. Keiss's plates, it was thought, might reveal similar lines in the red end of the coronal spectrum.

On land the arrangements for the eclipse were particularly elaborate. The principal observing stations were linked by telephone and telegraph lines and the moon's shadow was announced several minutes before it arrived at the Eastern stations. Photographs of the moon were made at Yale University Observatory for checking up the motions of the earth's satellite, while Einstein's theory of relativity, which has already withstood three crucial tests, was given another one at this eclipse by Professor C. L. Poor of Columbia.

OTHER SCIENTIFIC EVENTS OF THE MONTH

DR. FRANK BURR MALLORY of the Boston City Hospital has announced to the medical profession that copper, dissolved from the "worm" of the still during the making of liquor, is a cause of the disease popularly called "hardening of the liver," rather than the liquor itself. Copper in foods prepared in copper vessels or colored green with copper salts can produce the same malady. Dr. Mallory says that chronic copper poisoning is a more common disease than has been thought, for in 3.4 per cent. of a large group of post-mortem examinations he has found evidences of its harmful action. Copper starts the poisoning of the system by causing the red coloring matter of the blood to decompose, forming a yellow pigment. This condition of the blood Dr. Mallory calls "hemachromatosis." The yellow pigment accumulates first in the liver, but when the liver becomes overloaded it gathers also in the pancreas, kidneys, lymph nodes, heart, thyroid and adrenal glands, and the skin

of the hands and feet. So far as Dr. Mallory has observed, the kidneys are able to repair successfully whatever mischief is done there. The liver, however, is always the first organ to suffer. Copper poisoning is always slow in showing its effects. Clinical cases show that ordinarily it takes fifteen to twenty-five or more years to produce the symptom complex. He places considerable stress on the importance of copper as an impurity in alcoholic drinks, and has investigated many samples of bootleg liquor seized by the Boston police. In nine out of eighty-four seizures of cheap liquor he found appreciable amounts of copper, and he has shown the metal to be present also in home brew and fortified wines. In several of the cases he examined the victims were habitually alcoholic. Three or four other cases were those of men who had worked in machine shops, where copper filings and dust were produced in quantity, and at least one of them was not a drinking man.

VITAMINS IN COOKED FOODS

Cooking destroys vitamins, yet cooked foods may have adequate vitamin values. This is the paradox sponsored by Professor Walter H. Eddy of Columbia University. Studies some years ago indicated that ordinary cooking temperatures in an open kettle destroyed as much as 95 per cent. of the anti-scorbutic vitamin, or vitamin "C." It was assumed, following these experiments, that cooked vegetables were entirely useless as means of preventing scurvy and similar deficiency diseases. However, it was discovered later by animal experimentation that even the small fraction of vitamin remaining in the cooked vegetables was sufficient to have the desired effect in the prevention of disease. This depends on the fact that vitamins are very powerful substances and a little goes a long way.

The search into the mystery of sex continues. Hens that fight, crow and in other ways behave like roosters have been produced in the laboratory of Professor Frank R. Lillie of the University of Chicago by a simple gland-removing operation. A large percentage of our birds assumed male characters following removal of the ovaries to such an extent they are practically complete replicas of the male. To those not familiar with their history, they are regarded as unmistakable males. They grew the complete male plumage; spurs appeared as they do in the normal cock; head furnishings increased in size until they cannot be distinguished from those of the normal male. "Other birds in the pen regard them as males, and when a strange cock is introduced they fight as would other cocks, very frequently assuming the initiative, some of them having been observed to come off victorious in such a combat," said L. V. Domm, in charge of the tests. "Many of these birds crow regularly. When aroused by a disturbance, it was found that their reaction is very similar to that of the male; the sounds they make, together with their reaction on such occasions, reminds one very much of the

young male just prior to maturity. Our results indicate that the female in the Brown Leghorn fowl has many potentialities of the male, which are normally inhibited by the presence of the ovary, and that these potentialities can assert themselves approximately fully after the complete removal of the ovary at an early age." So the question arises: What is sex that it can thus be changed by a simple operation?

HUMAN ENERGY

An investigation of the Yale crew by two Yale physiologists showed that the champions, if they were rated as automobiles are, would only be listed as one-half horsepower each. This is their peak production and is thirteen to twenty times the normal output. Dr. Yandell Henderson and Dr. Howard W. Haggard, who carried out the investigation, determined the energy expended during a race in various ways. The men were exercised individually on rowing machines with power meters attached; the ratio of oxygen taken in to carbon dioxid given off in breathing was determined; the racing shell they used was towed by a power boat with a spring balance set into the towline. The data from these three methods were in general in fair agreement. They indicated that the maximal power exerted was from .45 to .55 horsepower per man, or, expressed in the heat equivalents, 4.8 to 5.9 calories per minute, with a total energy expenditure of 19 to 29 calories per minute, or 13 to 20 times the basal rate. The athletes did not puff and blow noticeably, however great their exertion; this was in marked contrast with the distress of untrained or half-trained men. The amount of oxygen they took in through their lungs reached about the limit of the carrying power of heart and blood, yet it was not sufficient to replace the amount burned up during the race. The athlete draws heavily on his credit and incurs oxygen deficits; these deficits are repaid by the high rate of oxygen absorption for a time after the work is ended.

Armies and Navies of the World

THE UNITED STATES

INTEREST during the month centred upon the legislative progress of the Army Supply bill, which authorized expenditures of \$331,131,114. It was endorsed by the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives on Jan. 2, passed by the House on Jan. 9 and approved by the Senate on Jan. 24, but with additions which brought the total up to \$332,180,000. Even with the increase the amount asked for was \$5,327,000 less than that for the closing fiscal year, the reduction being ascribed to President Coolidge's policy of departmental economy. The bill provided for no increase in the army personnel, which numbered about 12,000 officers and 119,000 enlisted men, exclusive of 8,000 Philippine Scouts. Outstanding among the allotments was \$40,000,000 for improvements to rivers and harbors and \$14,700,000 for the Army Air Service.

Major Gen. Robert Lee Bullard, commander of the Second Corps Area, with headquarters at Governors Island, retired on Jan. 15, 1925, after forty years of active service. In his farewell message he deprecated reports that New York City would be completely at the mercy of an enemy in event of an aerial gas attack, declaring that such an emergency would produce its own means of defense. Discussing the same subject before a Congressional subcommittee on Jan. 2, Major Gen. Mason A. Patrick, Chief of the Army Air Service, said New York would be wholly dependent upon aircraft for defense in the event of an invasion by a hostile naval fleet. General Patrick added that the sixteen-inch guns at the Far Rockaway fortifications were inadequate to halt incoming battleships. The aircraft question also received the attention of Secretary of War Weeks, who on Jan. 7 told a Congressional committee that the \$14,700,000 allotted for the army service in the supply bill was inadequate. He urged the development

of commercial aviation as the best means of creating an adequate air reserve force.

The disclosure by Secretary of the Navy Wilbur on Jan. 8 that President Coolidge opposed the elevation of the big guns on dreadnoughts as likely to excite rivalry determined Representative Fred A. Britten on Jan. 9 to abandon his gun elevation bill. The measure had asked an appropriation of \$6,500,000 for this purpose.

The House of Representatives on Jan. 24 passed a bill increasing the appropriations from \$23,000,000 to \$34,000,000 for each of the two airplane carriers—the Lexington and Saratoga—which are now under construction. Approval of the measure followed a bitter debate. Representative Free of California introduced a resolution providing for an extension for a year and a half from June 30 of the privilege of use by civilians of the naval radio service to Hawaii and the Philippines. Extension of the privilege was sought by American newspapers in the Pacific possessions which would have their news dispatches much curtailed if it ceased. President Coolidge on Jan. 23 indicated that he would approve the bill, provided he were convinced that the original emergency still existed. The emergency referred to was that which led the Government in 1922 to permit use of the naval radio in the Pacific for press and commercial business.

JAPAN

PUBLIC attention in Japan was centred during the month upon two elements of national defense: First, the swift progress being made toward expansion of the navy; second, the proposal of the Minister of Education for the introduction of compulsory military education into all the schools of Japan. The naval advance was indicated by the fact that work was started at the end of 1924 upon two new 10,000-ton cruisers, which were scheduled to be completed within

thirty months. It was also announced that construction would be started in 1925 upon two more vessels of this type. In addition to these four, Japan is building four 7,100-ton cruisers which are due to be ready this year. Hector C. Bywater, British naval expert, in a recent statement declared that, though the gigantic auxiliary type vessels which Japan now is building cannot be viewed as coming within the limits of the Washington armament treaty, they definitely alter the relative naval strength of America and Japan. The new destroyers, he explained, are so large as to be virtually light cruisers, any one of which would be equal in battle to two or three American cruisers. "The new destroyers now building in Japan or about to be laid down," Mr. Bywater wrote, "represent an enormous advance over all existing boats, whether Japanese or foreign."

The liberal Japanese press has been almost unanimous in its opposition to the plan for military training in the schools. So bitter were the attacks made upon this proposal during December that General Oi, former Commander of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, came to the defense of the project with a lengthy statement. He admitted that a more complete system of national defense was the aim of the proposal and he supported it on the grounds that since, as he declared, future warfare would be chiefly aerial, all men, women and even children should be versed in military technique. It was announced on Jan. 19 that, under the terms of the curtailed budget, 40,000 men would be mustered out of the Japanese Army in May. This reduction affected four complete divisions, to be replaced by smaller units.

GREAT BRITAIN

IT was disclosed on Jan. 26 that the two new British battleships, Rodney and Nelson, due to be completed in 1926, would carry eighty airplanes each as part of their equipment. American experts estimated that these vessels would be 33 per cent. superior in broadside weight to the best American war-

ships of the same class. It was indicated that the British regarded the Rodney and the Nelson as the nucleus of a new British Navy. The ships will be unique in that they will carry no funnels, the decks being thus made available for the launching of airplanes. Furthermore, all the big guns will be concentrated forward, instead of being arranged around the vessels. Embodying the very latest in naval science, these battleships are expected to surpass the most modern of other British dreadnoughts.

The battleship Monarch was sunk off the Scilly Isles in accordance with that clause of the Washington Arms Treaty which required that five British super-dreadnoughts be scrapped during 1925.

FRANCE

ANNOUNCEMENT that the French Superior Council of National Defense had under preparation an elaborate scheme for the mobilization of the entire resources of the nation in case of war was made in the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 26 by General Nollet, Minister of War. This news, which later became a topic of national discussion, was precipitated by parliamentary criticism of France's war defenses, Deputy Louis Loucheur having charged that France was no more ready for war than in 1914. Announcement also was made of the invention of a new fuel mixture for internal-combustion motors which had proved of much value to France and would relieve the nation of the necessity of importing large quantities of gasoline for war requirements.

HONDURAS

THE State Department in Washington on Jan. 26 received a request from the Provisional Government of Honduras for permission to buy a quantity of arms and other munitions. The department reserved decision. The Honduran Government asked specifically for 2,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 2,000 Enfield rifles and some light machine guns.

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of
Current History Associates

SINCE the election President Coolidge has gone forward completing the official household for his second term; and, in contact with the two houses of Congress, developing the policies which he expects to advocate and carry through.

The Cabinet for the second Administration appeared to have been settled except the Secretaryship of Agriculture. Secretary Hughes retires, though clearly not because of friction with the President. Private Secretary Slep is succeeded by Congressman Everett Sanders of Indiana, who has been chosen because of the President's desire to have near him some man in close touch with the House. The nomination of Attorney General Stone to the Supreme Court was the occasion of a lively controversy in the Senate because of his criminal prosecution (the second) instituted against Senator Wheeler of Montana. The Senate, however, confirmed the nomination (71 to 6) on Feb. 5, after the unusual course of an open debate on his qualifications. Opposition developed to the appointment of General Charles B. Warren of Michigan to the Attorney Generalship.

CONGRESS

Although acting during three months after its successor had been chosen, Congress has shown plenty of life. The House has witnessed a lively fight in the Republican caucus. Invitations to attend were not sent to the thirteen members elected as Republicans who supported La Follette in the last election—namely, Cooper, Voight, Nelson, Schacht, Lampert, Beck, Browne, Schneider, Frear and Peavery from Wisconsin, LaGuardia of New York, Keller of Minnesota and Sinclair

of North Dakota. This action had the approval of President Coolidge, based on the doctrine set forth by Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, candidate for the Speakership of the House: "The insurgents have read themselves out of the party." Frear of Wisconsin, spokesman of the La Follette members, declared that he was a Republican who desired "to work as heretofore with my party, and in so doing recognize the necessity of supporting party leadership."

Several Senate election contests were in progress. Magnus Johnson of Minnesota asserted that bootlegging money was used against him. Mayfield of Texas was to be seated, though supposed to be backed by the Ku Klux Klan. The re-election of Brookhart of Iowa by a plurality of 755 has been contested, not by his opponent, but by the Republican organization in Iowa, which asked to have the election declared a nullity.

PROSECUTIONS

The oil cases still dragged along. The counsel for Sinclair, Doheny (father and son) and Fall raised various technical points, one of them being that Senator Walsh, Chairman of the committee on investigation, whose charges led to the prosecution suit, had recently made a public address on the subject. The original case against Senator Wheeler in Montana was postponed by the Government until May. The long trial of Gaston B. Means, once an intimate of former Attorney General Daugherty and the leading witness of the Senate investigation of Daugherty, brought out new details as to the conduct of the Department of Justice under Daugherty, who, in turn, testified and denied the testimony. Means, who had a

long criminal record, was, on Jan. 30, finally convicted of conspiring to bribe Government officials and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. On the same day Charles D. Forbes, former director of the Veterans' Bureau, was convicted of receiving a bribe and was later sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of \$10,000.

STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

Though the people of the States live little conscious of the ties between the Commonwealths, during the last month several issues between State and State have been decided. The Supreme Court found on Jan. 26 in favor of Colorado in a boundary dispute with New Mexico. The three Commonwealths of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania signed a compact for joint use of the Delaware River for water supply and power. No like accord could be secured between the State of Illinois and other Great Lakes States. A conference of delegates from eighty lake cities on Jan. 16 protested against the present flow of 10,000 cubic feet per second westward through the Chicago River.

The general relation of State to Federal powers was brought before the public during the past month by the discussion on the child labor amendment which appeared to have been defeated mainly on the ground that it would give the Federal Government authority to do what the States could do as well. The same argument was also used against Government aid for education, while the State of Iowa gave notice that it would no longer accept Federal subsidies for road building.

Woman's increasing share in political life was marked by the inauguration on Jan. 21 of Mrs. Ferguson as Governor of Texas. In her first message Mrs. Ferguson urged a reduction of expenses, a parole system for prisoners and a tax on factory-made cigarettes, to provide \$4,000,000 for buildings needed by the State University and other educational institutions.

Jonathan M. Davis, until recently Governor of Kansas, and Carl J. Petersen,

the former Bank Commissioner, were served with warrants on Jan. 12, as the Governor retired at the end of his term, and are to be tried before the courts for selling pardons. Chancellor Lindley of the State University, removed by Governor Davis, was at once restored by the incoming Governor, Ben S. Paulen.

PUBLIC FINANCE

President Coolidge's policy of economy was set forth in a public address in Washington on Jan. 27, in which he laid down the sum of \$3,000,000,000 as the maximum that ought to be spent in the fiscal year 1925-26, besides the requirement for the national debt. He expected a surplus in 1925-26 of \$373,000,000. He was sure the number of employes could be reduced. He has given unofficial approval to a public buildings bill carrying \$25,000,000 a year for each of six years. The whole question of Government expenditures is involved in the \$12,000,000,000 of advances to foreign Governments now expressed by \$6,000,000,000 of Government bonds upon which interest is paid out of the United States Treasury and charged as increase of principal. The net public debt of the United States was officially stated on Jan. 16 to have been on June 30, 1924 at \$21,178,045,271, as against \$927,028,121 in 1913.

An official statement of the complete returns of the income tax for the calendar year 1922 showed returns from 6,787,481 individuals and 382,883 corporations; the total annual taxable income reported was \$28,300,000,000, and the amount of income tax was \$1,644,823,576. Of the total, about \$241,000,000 was collected in New York, \$72,000,000 in Illinois, \$86,000,000 in Pennsylvania and \$54,000,000 in Massachusetts. The State making the lowest return was Nevada, \$192,000.

A deficiency appropriation bill was passed by the Senate on Jan. 15, carrying an item of \$150,000,000 for refund of taxes. An attempt has been made in Massachusetts, in the Moreland case, to cancel income tax levies made upon persons who were found guilty of bootleg-

ging and whose profits were estimated by the Internal Revenue authorities and taxed accordingly.

INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

A plan to help the farmer has been embodied in the McNary-Haugen bill, sponsored by the National Live Stock Producers' Association, the American Wheat Growers' Association, the National Milk Producers' Association and others. It proposes to create a farm export corporation, which shall establish "a ratio price" at about one-half more than the average prevailing prices before the World War; and will dispose of the surplus wheat overseas. This plan does nothing for the cotton raisers and little for the dairy and poultry industries.

President Coolidge has decided to bring aid to the farmers, his first step being the appointment of an unofficial Agricultural Commission. At a breakfast conference on Jan. 27 the President went over the matter with members of the Agricultural Committees of both houses, and next day sent to Congress with his approval and support a proposal drawn up by the Agricultural Commission, of which the main features were as follows: Legalization of farmers' associations and pools for the sale of their products; cooperative market organizations and clearing houses; a Federal Cooperative Marketing Board, consisting of the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and three others nominated by agricultural organizations and appointed by the President. It was also proposed that new facilities be provided for borrowing money from the Government through a new agricultural credit corporation. The Farm Conference had already, on Jan. 14, reported on the needs and remedies for the live stock industry, which was to have special facilities through the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The condition of American business continued to be satisfactory. The Census on Jan. 14 estimated the value of all the property in the United States at \$320,000,000,000, which was about ten

times the total national debt, including amounts due from foreign countries.

Housing has become a question of Government regulation. The District of Columbia especially suffers, on account of the sudden influx of new employes. President Coolidge has endorsed a bill for a Federal commission, with the legal right to fix rents within the District. He also made a brief address on Jan. 12 to representatives of the Associated General Contractors of America, in which he urged that the whole business of building ought to be changed, so as to keep the workmen busy in Winter and in dull business seasons.

The question of public regulation and operation of utilities is at the bottom of the long-continued debate on the Muscle Shoals plant. The real issue is between those who expect this enormous water power to be used chiefly for making fertilizers out of the nitrogen of the atmosphere and those who want the use of the power for plants within the radius of three or four hundred miles from Muscle Shoals. The proposition of Senator Underwood to turn the works over to a lessee on a long term was countered by the Norris bill, which proposed Government operation. In the Senate, on Jan. 13, the Underwood bill, the Jones amendment for a new investigation of the whole subject and the Norris bill were in turn adopted. Finally the Senate, on Jan. 14, adopted the Underwood bill by a vote of 52 to 30. The House, on Jan. 27, passed the bill with an amendment by 181 votes to 41. The Conference Committee came to an agreement on Feb. 5 and the bill was sent to the President.

TRANSPORTATION

The railroads are busy and prosperous. Light was thrown on the likelihood of the Government taking the roads over, by the report on Jan. 20 of James C. Davis, Director General of Railroads. He showed that during the World War the United States carried on the railroad business for twenty-six months. Notwithstanding a large increase of rates on passengers and freight, the net deficit

during that time was something over \$1,000,000,000. In addition, about \$500,000,000 will have to be allowed on the guarantee to the roads for six months after release from Federal control.

Good roads are now ceasing to be a matter of course. Throughout the Union permanent highways are being established. Most of them are built on bonds, throwing the cost on later generations. Few of the States realize that all roads wear out, while poor and light roads wear out quickly; and all must be frequently repaired or renewed at somebody's expense. Electric roads, both interurban and intermural, are suffering from automobile competition. In some cities the tracks have been taken up and franchises for bus lines have been given to the electric companies. A decision of the United States Supreme Court on Jan. 12, brought by the Michigan State Government against the Duke Cartage Company, held that lines of trucks were not common carriers; and therefore a State might not regulate autos or truck traffic passing from one State to another.

The House of Representatives on Jan. 15 promised to complete a six-foot channel for the Missouri River from Kansas City down, although little boat traffic could be expected. The proof is the Barge Canal, constructed by the State of New York at a cost of more than \$100,000,000, which is almost unused.

Senator Butler of Massachusetts introduced a bill to do away with the "differentials" under which a lower rate is made from the interior to certain ports on the Atlantic than to others. The bill covers three points—differentials in the rail rates from the interior, which are unfavorable to Boston and New York; differentials in open rates, which are unfavorable to the South Atlantic Coast, and contracts and agreements that apply such differentials.

Statistics in foreign trade showed that the value of imports in the last twelve months was less than in the previous year. A vexatious restriction on travel is the high fee (\$10) for an American passport and the high visa (\$10) upon

foreign travelers who wish to enter the United States. Foreign countries maintain corresponding figures for visas to Americans, which are issued gratis to the nationals of most other countries.

Congress again considered the question of postal pay. Public sentiment seems to accept an increase of salaries which would amount to about \$300 per year per man. A bill increasing the rates was passed by the Senate but ignored by the House on Feb. 3 on the ground that, as postal rates were taxes, all revenue bills must originate in the House. Every bill drafted by the House and acceptable to the President has been prepared.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The relations of the United States with other countries of the world are taken up elsewhere in this survey. Among various treaties pending the most urgent was the new commercial treaty with Germany (ratified Feb. 10) with a reservation permitting the United States a clause giving special protection for our own shipping.

The Isle of Pines question was renewed over the treaty, dated March 2, 1904, still unratified, between Cuba and the United States, under which the traditional connection between Cuba and the Isle of Pines was acknowledged. The President on Jan. 20 unofficially declared that he favored the treaty and saw no argument for a claim to the island.

In an elaborate address on Jan. 20 Secretary Hughes suggested that it would be well for Latin-American States to take counsel together and "devise appropriate means of collaboration." He pointed to the advantages of the recent inter-American general arbitration agreement accepted by the United States. He assured the Latin Americans that "we have no desire to take advantage of this regrettable condition in neighboring countries, either to acquire territory or to assume political control."

On the League of Nations, the Geneva Protocol and the World Court no change of policy at the White House was dis-

cernible. The one international combination to which the President is committed is the Permanent Court of International Justice. The prospects of Senate approval of the Harding plan seemed none too favorable. This plan was accepted and presented by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in the form of a majority resolution on May 26, 1924, and somewhat modified by that resolution by provisions intended to safeguard the United States from the effect of the Benès protocol, which apparently gave the world tribunal legal jurisdiction over matters directly concerning the United States. President Coolidge subsequently (at the end of the past year) advocated more adequate modification to meet this menace to international peace.

LABOR

The conditions of labor were, on the whole, good. Building construction was somewhat reduced, but indoor industries were prosperous. In New Jersey employers obtained a stay against the operation of the law against women's night work. The Child Labor amendment was defeated by the adverse vote of more than one-fourth of the State Legislatures. An investigation by the National Bureau of Economic Research showed that of about 26,000,000 wage earners in 1920, nearly 5,000,000, or 19 per cent., were members of trade unions. The Russell Sage Foundation published a report on the so-called Rockefeller plan of employee representation, which has been in operation in Colorado for about ten years. The investigator found that the housing and living conditions of the miners were better under this plan, but that the men did not feel that they were placed on an equality in discussions with their employers. A board was suggested, representing all the corporations in the industry, to discuss certain problems with representatives of all the employees.

LAW AND ORDER

The most startling episode of the month was the revival of civil war at

Herrin, Ill. Glenn Young, a member of the Ku Klux Klan and a kind of self-appointed sheriff, met Deputy Sheriff Ora Thomas in a cigar store on Jan. 24. Evidence as to who fired first was conflicting. Young, Thomas and two of Young's supporters were killed on the spot. State authorities were called in to establish order, but the only means to peace was to expel George Galligan, sheriff of the county, which was considered somehow a compromise between Klan and anti-Klan.

A Long Island train was held up on Jan. 13 by a single bandit, who escaped. A desperate criminal, Gerald Chapman, party to a robbery of the United States mail in 1921, who had escaped from jail, was caught and returned to Atlanta prison with special precautions against a rescue by his friends. The train bandit, Cadoo, was caught, and ten days after the crime had pleaded guilty and received a sentence of twenty-five years.

Bootlegging remained a flourishing industry. It was charged in Boston, Jersey City and elsewhere that the police authorities aided the culprits. President Coolidge was understood to be dissatisfied with the results of prohibition enforcement, because it did not seem to reach the big men among the bootleggers. Charges of being connected with bootleggers were made against Senator Edward I. Edwards of New Jersey. New difficulties arose in connection with the legitimate alcohol trade, which was very hard to separate from bootlegging. The new swift vessels of the Revenue Service began to tell on the sea smuggling. Attorney General Stone stated that during the last twelve months 332 vessels, documented by foreign powers, had been engaged in the trade. The greater part of these vessels were British. Norway participated in attempts to break up the business.

SOCIAL

Great activity was shown among the national churches. The Universalists planned to raise \$2,000,000 in five years for the advancement of their branch of

the church universal. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations held a meeting, attended by 1,500 delegates, in St. Louis. For the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York a considerable part of the \$15,000,000 necessary to complete the building was promised. The sum of \$6,500,000 was raised in New York. Bishop William Montgomery Brown of Ohio was on appeal declared to be heretical, subject to confirmation of the sentence by two-thirds of the Bishops.

In education a notable episode was the unsuccessful attempt to induce Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard Law School, to become President of Wisconsin University. Professor George P. Baker left Harvard to go to Yale, which has received a special endowment of \$1,500,000 to carry on the work of his Department of Dramatic Art. An effort was made to investigate Harvard University by the Legislature of Massachusetts on the ground that some of its graduates thought it commercial in spirit. The Joint Rules Committee of the Legislature refused to recommend the investigation.

Penn State College asked for \$12,000,000 for the next two years, raising the question of the large grant now made by the Legislature to the University of Pennsylvania (not a public institution) and to Temple University, Philadelphia. The University of New York reported an enrolment of 20,000 students, of whom 5,000 were women.

To Nome, Alaska, stricken with diphtheria, the life-saving antitoxin was carried 500 miles by dog express.

MILITARY

Changes in the army included the retirement of General Robert L. Bullard after forty-four years' service. Colonel Robert H. Allen was made Chief of Infantry with the rank of Major General. A lively controversy arose over the place of the air service. General Mitchell, Assistant Chief of the Army Air Service, incurred the censure of his su-

periors by testifying before a House committee that "some officers were afraid to tell the truth about airplanes," and that battleships were now at the mercy of bombing airplanes. The movement for the creation of a separate air service to combine both military and naval planes is resisted by both military and naval authorities. An aged Admiral complained of the assertion that a \$10,000 airplane could destroy a \$10,000,000 battleship; though, of course, the same battleship might be destroyed by a \$1,000 shell. It was understood that President Coolidge was opposed to a separate air defense service.

The Atlantic Fleet was ordered to sea on Jan. 12 preparatory to grand manoeuvres in the Pacific Ocean next Summer.

PERSONALITIES

The month was full of special tributes to living great men. The French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, terminated his service for France in America in the midst of many American friends. Secretary Hoover was honored by his thousands of brethren in the Society of Civil Engineers. Tributes were paid to the late Jacob H. Schiff of New York; to Samuel Gompers, for forty years the leading spirit in the American Federation of Labor; to Thomas F. Foley, a distinguished Tammany leader in New York.

Among the great gifts of the month was \$1,600,000, given by John D. Rockefeller Jr. to restore the library of the Imperial University of Japan, destroyed in the recent earthquake. The public was interested in restoring the Miles Standish monument in Duxbury, destroyed by lightning. Plans were drawn for restoring the Lee family mansion at Arlington, Va. Franconia Notch, above which stands the Great Stone Face, must be saved from the lumbermen. The Betty Washington House, once occupied by a sister of George Washington, was formally reopened.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

THE policies pursued by the Calles Government during the second month of its incumbency corresponded with its duties as outlined by President Calles in an interview published in *El Globo* of Mexico City on Jan. 26. Maintenance of order, according to President Calles, was the first obligation of the new Government. Its second obligation was to practice economy and to develop agriculture, commerce, industry and communications. After these, President Calles listed the necessity of balancing the budget and of providing for an educational program.

President Calles in the latter part of January expressed his opposition to gambling and his determination to eliminate it from the entire republic. This statement accompanied his refusal of permission to an American to place gambling machines in Mexico City. A decree was recently issued forbidding the importation of opium and heroin for smoking purposes. The President further requested all State Governors to assist him in his "clean-up campaign."

Evidence of the Government's intention to stamp out brigandage in the State of Puebla was seen in the summary manner in which military justice was meted out in January to malefactors. When bandits, alleged to have been instigated by enemies of the local Government in the hope of creating international difficulties, murdered William Hintzpeter, a prosperous German merchant and agriculturist of Puebla, the Government at once despatched four military columns in pursuit of the murderers. The pursuit was successful and seven prisoners, in compliance with orders from Mexico City, were court-martialed and then hanged on trees in the vicinity of the crime.

The War Department announced on Jan. 9 that one month would suffice to

clear the republic of all rebels. General Felix Barajas, chief lieutenant of General Enrique Estrada in the de la Huerta rebellion, submitted to the Government with a group of officers and men prior to Jan. 10.

Another evidence of the Government's determination to eliminate lawlessness was the arrest and imprisonment on Feb. 1 of General Ramon Iturbe, former Governor of the State of Sinaloa. It was charged that this official had misappropriated funds during his Administration.

By order of President Calles, effective Jan. 1, all subsidies and loans theretofore advanced by the Federal Government to individual States were discontinued. As evidence of the Government's determination to curtail expenses whenever possible, the Mexican Financial Agency in New York was advised on Jan. 12 that one of the first acts of the new Controller General was to reduce the office personnel from 1,162 to 675 employes, thereby effecting a saving of \$190,000 a month. A plan to save 24,000,000 pesos annually by eliminating train auditors, abolishing department division engineers and reducing the office force by one-fourth and the mechanical department 40 per cent. was proposed in mid-January by the Commission of Adjustment for the National Railways of Mexico. Official announcement was made on Jan. 26 that in order to curtail expenditures, approximately 4,000 employes of the National Railways of Mexico would be discharged.

The reorganized Agricultural Commission held its first meeting on Jan. 6. At that time the commission announced that it would continue the policy of dividing the land, but that careful study would be made before large estates were divided and that facilities would be given to land-owners for voluntary

division of their estates, provided that this was done legally.

Secretary of Foreign Relations Sáenz declared on Jan. 8 that the Mexican Government would not pay indemnities to foreigners whose lands were expropriated and divided in case these expropriations were accomplished within the scope of the land division laws.

In the State of Morelos the Government was making use of the cooperative plan in an effort to revive the once lucrative sugar industry.

It was officially reported that the finances of Mexico had reached a stage where the budget showed a more favorable condition than at any time during the last eleven years.

The budget for 1925, approved by President Calles early in January, allowed 84,000,000 pesos (\$42,000,000) as payment of interest on the foreign debt. Interest on this debt for 1924, amounting to \$17,500,000, was not paid. The interest due on the foreign debt for 1925, as fixed by the Lamont-de la Huerta Mexican debt readjustment agreement, which had not formally been declared inoperative, was \$20,000,000. In addition to the 84,000,000 pesos for payment of interest, the Mexican budget for 1925 approved expenditures totaling 206,000,000 pesos. This latter sum represented an economy of 20,000,000 pesos as compared with the expenditures of 1924. President Calles on Jan. 25 reiterated his belief that by following his program of national sufficiency, Mexico would be able to meet her economic and financial problems without foreign assistance.

The Special Claims Commission, provided for under the convention signed by the United States and Mexican Governments on Sept. 10, 1923, voted on Jan. 25 to postpone the formal sessions of the commission until September of this year.

In conformity with an Act of Congress, approved on May 13, 1924, President Coolidge early in January designated three special commissioners "to cooperate with representatives of the United States of Mexico in a study re-

garding the equitable use of the waters of the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas, with a view to their proper utilization for irrigation and other beneficial uses." The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States were: Dr. Elwood Mead, head of the Reclamation Service, Chairman; Mr. W. E. Anderson of La Feria, Texas; and General Lansing H. Beach, U. S. A., retired. Preparations for a meeting of the American and Mexican commissioners were proceeding.

In the course of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, a total of 93,889 persons were admitted into the United States from Mexico. Of these, 89,336 were immigrants and 4,553 were non-immigrants. Anti-Chinese agitation continued in Mexico, particularly in the States of the Northwest.

Mexico's Chinese population was estimated at 30,000, two-thirds of whom live in Sonora and Lower California.

Nicaragua

PRESIDENT SOLORZANO, in his inaugural address on Jan. 1, stated that the objects and policies of his Administration included the reform of the electoral law, in order to assure absolute electoral freedom in the conduct of the 1928 national elections; the creation of a national guard, for which he was disposed to accept the good offices of the American Government in obtaining instructors; scrupulous honesty in the administration of the public funds and faithful compliance with the internal and foreign obligations of Nicaragua; the determination to maintain himself in constant contact with the Government of the United States—this, in recognition of the fact that the friendly assistance of the latter Government "has been in every sense beneficial," and in order to utilize its "powerful means . . . in the rôle of obtaining the most solid and satisfactory economic situation for Nicaragua"; the practice of a policy of frank and cordial friendship with the United States based on mutual respect; improvement of public instruction and

in the administration of remote and neglected districts, and material and moral improvement of the working classes. Asserting that he would "not need accomplices but collaborators" in his Administration, President Solorzano called upon all worthy elements of all parties to assist in the re-establishment of harmony to the end that his Government might avail itself of the abilities of his fellow citizens. A favorable reference was made to the Central American Federation.

The Cabinet of President Solorzano, which took office on Jan. 5, was made up follows:

JUAN JOSE MARTINEZ (Republican Conservative)—Interior.

S. ALBINO ROMAN Y REYES (Liberal)—Finance.

LEONARDO ARCUELLO (Liberal)—Public Instruction.

JUAN FRANCISCO GUTIERREZ (Progresista)—Public Works.

SALVADOR CASTRILLO (Republican Conservative)—Foreign Affairs.

As a result of the abolition of the Ministry of War, the functions of that secretariat were delegated to one of President Solorzano's Secretaries, Dr. Salvador Mendieta, a member of the Unionista Party.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Office, at the instance of President Solorzano, requested the United States Government on Jan. 7, "in behalf of the peace, order, well-being and benefit of Nicaragua," not to withdraw the detachment of United States Marines, which had been stationed at Managua as a Legation Guard since 1912, "until there shall have been established under the guidance of American instructors an efficient service of the National Guard, which would be difficult, if not impossible, to effect in the absence of the Legation Guard."

In view of the fact that the Nicaraguan Government had been informed on Nov. 14, 1923, of the intention of the United States Government to withdraw the Legation Guard in January, 1925, the United States Government advised

the Nicaraguan Government on Jan. 15, 1925, that it felt that it would be "entirely justified" in withdrawing the marines in accordance with its previously announced plan. Because of a desire, however, "to cooperate in any proper way in promoting the peaceful development and prosperity of Nicaragua," and in consideration of the willingness of the Nicaraguan Government to establish at once a national constabulary, the Government of the United States expressed itself as "disposed to permit the Legation Guard to remain at Managua until a date not later than September, 1925."

A powerful new wireless station of the Tropical Radio Telegraph Company located two miles from Managua was formally opened on Jan. 17 in the presence of a distinguished assemblage, including President Solorzano and other Government officials, members of the Diplomatic Corps and church officials. The first messages transmitted from the station were addressed to President Coolidge, Secretary of States Hughes and the Associated Press.

Honduras

THE Honduran National Assembly on Jan. 20, by a legislative decree, declared elected Miguel Paz Barahona and Presentación Quesada as President and Vice President, respectively, of Honduras. Out of a total of 78,491 votes cast in the December elections, President Barahona received 72,021 votes and Vice President Quesada received 72,011 votes.

The United States Secretary of State instructed Chargé d'Affaires Dennis in Honduras to make public the following statement:

The Government of the United States is gratified that it has been possible to reach a solution of the problem of establishing in Honduras a constitutional government with which the Government of the United States and those of the other Central American republics can maintain cordial relations without inconsistency with the provisions of the General Treaty of Peace and Amity signed

at the Washington Conference of 1923. The Government of the United States contemplates with pleasure the resumption of formal relations with the Government of Honduras upon the inauguration on Feb. 1 of the new constitutional authorities.

Costa Rica

THE formal resignation of Costa Rica from the League of Nations, as of date Jan. 1, 1925, filed at Geneva on Jan. 22, was accompanied by a check for \$18,677, in payment of back dues for the past four years. Somewhat severe criticisms of Costa Rica for having failed to pay her assessments, which were voiced during the sessions of the Budget Committee at the last Assembly, were believed to have been responsible for Costa Rica's action. Since the Covenant of the League of Nations requires two years' notice of withdrawal from the League, Costa Rica will not cease to be a member thereof until Jan. 1, 1927.

The United States Senate on Jan. 28 ratified the convention for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry. This document was signed at the conference on Central American affairs in Washington by delegates from the United States, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala on Feb. 7, 1923.

Cuba

A RESOLUTION signed by 65 of the 116 members of the Cuban House of Representatives and made public on Jan. 13 urged the ratification of the Hay-Quesada treaty by which Cuba's title to the Isle of Pines would be formally recognized by the United States. The resolution, which it was proposed to introduce in the House of Representatives at the next session of the Cuban Congress, contained the statement that should the United States "reject the treaty, the Republic of Cuba surely would have the unquestionable right to ask the immediate evacuation of the naval stations established on Cuban territory." From Havana it was

reported on Jan. 24 that excitement over the Hay-Quesada treaty was at a high pitch. In response to an appeal from the American Chamber of Commerce of the Isles of Pines for military protection, United States Ambassador Crowder dispatched Major W. H. Shutan, Military Attaché at the United States Embassy, and President Zayas dispatched Dr. Ignacio de la Torre of the Department of the Interior, to make an investigation, beginning Jan. 24, into the situation in the Isles of Pines. President Coolidge was reported to have expressed the hope to several United States Senators on Jan. 24 that the Senate would ratify the Hay-Quesada treaty during the present session. The anniversary of the birth of José Martí, Cuba's "Apostle of Independence," which falls on Jan. 28, was made the occasion of a great demonstration in Havana for ratification of the Hay-Quesada treaty.

Fires believed to have been of incendiary origin destroyed approximately 30,000,000 pounds of sugar cane in the fields on seven plantations in the Province of Matanzas on Jan. 12.

The presence of 20,000 Europeans in Cuba "awaiting the opportunity to slip over" to the United States was reported on Jan. 19 to the Appropriations Committee of the United States House of Representatives by W. W. Husband, Commissioner General of Immigration.

Dominican Republic

THE United States Senate on Jan. 21 ratified treaties with the Dominican Government by which the withdrawal of American military forces from the Dominican Republic was confirmed and the method for the refunding of the \$25,000,000 debt of the Dominican Republic was described. The latter treaty provides that the President of the United States shall appoint a General Receiver of Dominican Customs who will collect all customs duties of the Dominican Republic until the payment or retirement of all bonds issued for the refundment of its present debt.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

SECRETARY OF STATE HUGHES delivered an address on Jan. 20, which was broadcast to the people of the North and South American continents as part of a "Pan-American radio program." He spoke of the necessity for Pan-American cooperation, and asserted that though the Monroe Doctrine was "deemed to be necessary for our own security," it had "safeguarded the independence of American States." He declared peace to be the basis of this cooperation and stated that the Government of the United States not only had no imperialistic designs, but was constantly throwing its influence against "the exploitations of other peoples." Continuing, Mr. Hughes said:

Any one who really understands our people must realize that the last thing in the world we desire is to assume responsibility for other peoples. While the Monroe Doctrine was set forth and must be maintained as the policy of the United States, there is no reason whatever why every one of our sister republics should not have and formulate a similar principle as part of its own policy.

General John J. Pershing, head of the United States delegation at the celebration of the centenary of the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru during December, 1924, made an extensive tour through Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil in January and February of the present year. The General was greeted everywhere by large and enthusiastic crowds.

The Royal Bank of Canada on Feb. 3 purchased the capital stock of the Bank of Central and South America, which has a paid up capital of \$5,000,000 and reserves of \$2,500,000. The Bank of Central and South America has seventeen branches and operates through subsidiaries in Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and Costa Rica.

An aerial mail service between Brazil

and Argentina was inaugurated Jan. 14 by the French Aviation Mission. The service was to be combined with mail steamships arriving at Rio de Janeiro from Europe, thus shortening by four days the postal service from Europe to Argentina. Two French aviators with hydroplanes completed the first trial trip on Jan. 23 by returning to Rio de Janeiro from Buenos Aires.

Argentina

PRESIDENT DE ALVEAR declared the special session of the Argentine Congress closed on Jan. 21. All administration measures, including the budget for 1925, were withdrawn. The President's peremptory closing of the session was attributed to the inactivity of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and to the continued failure of a quorum to attend legislative meetings.

Argentine Government authorities, according to *La Nación*, informed the Holy See (Jan. 18) that the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Giovanni Beda Cardinale, and his Secretary, were personae non gratae. No reason was vouchsafed to the Vatican for declaring Mgr. Cardinale an undesirable representative. Despite the announcement that the Government refused to give reasons for the objection to the present Papal Nuncio, it was well known that strained relations had existed between the Vatican and Buenos Aires for over a year. Difficulty arose over the refusal of Rome to appoint to the vacant Archbishopric of Buenos Aires Mgr. de Andrea, the candidate supported by the Argentine Government. Early in January the press reported the acceptance by the Government of Mgr. de Andrea's withdrawal as candidate for Archbishop. *La Nación* pointed out that "should the Vatican undertake to maintain the present Nuncio

here it might result in the Government being obliged to adopt extreme measures."

An Argentine law enacted in 1924 for protection of the meat industry was invoked for the first time in January, when a fine of \$1,000 was imposed upon Frigorífico Armour (Armour Refrigerating Plant), the Argentine subsidiary of Armour & Co. of Chicago, and another fine of \$500 on certain sheep brokers. A section of the law prohibits unjust discrimination among live stock producers or the taking of undue advantage by purchasers of their products. It was alleged that the brokers had bought sheep from a rancher below the market price and on the following day had sold them above the market price, making a profit of 40 per cent. This was described in the Government's decree as a "fictitious manoeuvre" which could not have been effected without "the negligence, toleration or complicity of Frigorífico Armour." The total fines represented four times the amount lost by the rancher.

A marked housing shortage has existed in Buenos Aires since the close of the World War. Owing to the dearth of materials, many of which must be imported, and the increase in cost of materials and labor from 1914 to 1920, the construction of houses, especially for laborers, has been seriously curtailed. The National Congress recently extended to Sept. 30, 1925, the law relative to rental of dwellings and business places. The National Housing Commission accepted the proposal of a Buenos Aires concern for the construction of seventy-one workmen's houses at a total cost of approximately \$350,000.

Dr. E. Loza, Minister of Public Works, resigned (Jan. 15) on the ground of ill health.

Bolivia

At a caucus on Jan. 23 Señor José Cabino Villaneuva and Señor Abdon Saavedra, brother of the present President, were nominated as Republican candidates for President and Vice

President respectively. Owing to the absence of opposition, their election was practically assured. The term of the present Executive, Dr. Bautista Saavedra, expires this year, and, according to the Bolivian Constitution, a President may not hold office for two successive terms.

The project promoted by former Representative Murray of Oklahoma to establish an agricultural colony in Bolivia had failed, according to two colonists who recently returned to the United States. Of the seventy-five Oklahoma families that emigrated to Bolivia in 1924 only two, it was stated, remained there with Murray. According to the Buenos Aires Herald, the scheme failed because the land given to the colony proved arid and unprofitable and was too far from a railroad to market crops even if they had been abundant.

Financial conditions were being improved through the merging of two of the leading banks of the country—the Banco Mercantil de Bolivia and the Banco Nacional de Bolivia.

Brazil

THE Police Department of Rio de Janeiro reported (Jan. 17) the discovery of a revolutionary plot, said to have been engineered by army officers. The revolt was to have materialized after the departure of President Bernardes for Petropolis. Its main purpose was to free those imprisoned for similar activities, then to take possession of the military barracks of the capital. The leaders, including one Captain and two Lieutenants, were arrested and a number of bombs seized. The state of siege in force for months past was extended to April 30. The construction of public works throughout the country was suspended by Government decree. Existing contracts were to be dealt with by means of special agreements safeguarding the interests of the parties concerned.

Rear Admiral Carl T. Vogelgesang and other members of the American naval mission which had been directing

the reorganization and training of the Brazilian Navy during the past two years returned to the United States early in February. The Admiral expressed satisfaction with the work of the mission, saying that the Brazilians were a peaceful people and that their navy was adequate for their protection. He was generous in his praise of the Brazilians for courtesies extended him during his sojourn.

An aftermath of the recent anti-Brazilian agitation in Japan because of Brazil's refusal to admit Japanese beyond a certain restricted quota, appeared in Tokio (Jan. 22) when the Brazilian Consul refused to approve the passports of 600 Japanese citizens scheduled to leave for Brazil.

The budget bill for 1925 failed to pass the Senate. The 1924 budget was therefore extended, as to receipts, to cover the new year; expenditures were fixed at 84,412,953 gold and 1,044,599,019 paper milreis (totaling approximately \$161,000,000).

Chile

MONEDA PALACE, headquarters of the Chilean Government, was surrounded and occupied on Jan. 23 by a group of army officers. Shortly afterward a new "Junta Gobierno" was formed under the direction of General Dartnell and General Ortiz Vega. The new Government issued a manifesto in which it declared that the men responsible for the movement last September, when the Government under President Alessandri was overthrown, had decided to depose the chiefs who had betrayed their confidence and maliciously deviated from the proposed program. Following this sudden action Chile settled down to virtual calm.

On Jan. 25 a dispatch, officially signed, was received in Venice, Italy, by Señor Arturo Alessandri, inviting him in the name of the new military "junta" in Santiago to return and resume his position as President. Señor Alessandri expressed himself as being in full sympathy with the movement,

and after informing himself carefully from official dispatches received at the embassy in Rome, he cabled acceptance on certain conditions: first, the immediate formation of a civil Government on national lines irrespective of party lines; second, guarantees of freedom to exercise full constitutional powers, and of the immediate return of all military units to their proper functions; third, convocation of a Constituent Assembly to discuss the reform Constitution long desired by the Chilean people; and fourth, approval by this assembly of new laws regulating the election of the Chamber, the Senate, and the President, in time for him, on the expiration of his term of office, Dec. 23, to give over the power to a new President.

In a press conference Señor Alessandri declared that if these conditions were accepted he would return at once to Santiago and undertake to establish a stable Government. "I want to establish the strongest relationships between Chile and foreign countries that have obtained since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine," he said. Questioned further he asserted that application of the doctrine would in future serve as the basis of Chilean foreign policy. The former President, after a short interview with the Pope, left Rome for Paris on Feb. 5.

Through the mediation of Augustin Edwards, former Foreign Minister, army and navy representatives at odds over the character of the new Government came to agreement on the following details: First, that Señor Arturo Alessandri continue to be constitutional President of Chile, although at the time out of the country; second, that Señor Alessandri be requested to name the Minister of Interior to act in his place as Vice President, according to the Constitution; third, that the Vice President proceed to form a new civilian Government to carry out the democratic program proclaimed by the army and navy last September (1924).

A new Cabinet was organized by Armando Jaramillo, Liberal leader and

friend of President Alessandri on Jan. 29. It was made up as follows:

ARMANDO JARAMILLO—Minister of the Interior.

JORGE NATTE GORMAZ—Foreign Minister.

JOSE MAZA—Minister of Justice.

VALENTIN MACALLANES—Head of the Fiscal Accounting Bureau—Minister of Finance.

Colonel CARLOS IBANEZ, one of the leaders in the overthrow of the late Government—Minister of War.

Rear Admiral BAHAMONDES—Minister of the Navy.

CLUDIO VICUNA—Minister of Agriculture.

FRANCISCO MARDONES—Minister of Public Works.

Dr. SALAS—Minister of Public Health.

Reports from Buenos Aires, Feb. 3, stated that despite the agreement reached between army and navy, and the formation of the new Cabinet, there was still a state of unrest among the people occasioned by a group of Chile's wealthiest men, leaders of the Unionist Party, opposed to President Alessandri's return to power. This group, though small, is financially strong, and should their opposition prove serious, it might result in their taking sides with the navy, and the supporters of Alessandri with the army, thus widening, rather than healing the breach.

The Santiago branch of the National City Bank of New York recently closed a \$4,500,000 loan with the Chilean Government to complete the liquidation of indebtedness for the electrification of Chilean railways.

The roof of the People's Credit Bank of Santiago collapsed on Jan. 22, resulting in the death of eighteen persons. This bank was opened in 1922 as a State pawnshop, its object being to protect the people against the usurious rates of interest of private money lenders.

According to messages received Jan. 14 by the Westinghouse Lamp Company of New York, Captain Benjamin F. Leavitt of Philadelphia had broken all records for deep-sea salvage in recovering a cargo of copper that had lain since 1869 with the wreck of the British frigate Cape Horn off the coast of Chile.

Captain Leavitt's corp of divers located the wreck in 217 feet of water outside the port of Pichidangui. The salvaging operation was said to have resulted in the recovery of \$600,000 worth of copper.

Peru

RECENT publication of the fact that a large corporation boring for oil on the shores of Lake Titicaca in Peru had failed to make a strike and had finally abandoned its operations, was followed by warnings against the sinking of capital in exploring for oil anywhere in that republic. These reports stirred the Peruvian Government and caused the Consul General in London to issue a statement contradicting the reports. The consular statement further maintained that boring for oil at the high altitude of Lake Titicaca (12,000 feet) was ill-advised, as Peru's oil is found at sea level. It asserted that Peru was an oil-producing country and that its output had increased from 331,633 tons in 1915 to 844,371 in 1923. This ranks Peru as eighth among the oil-producing countries of the world.

Uruguay

THE Uruguayan Congress recently sanctioned a law providing that for a period of ten years all factories and industrial establishments newly installed, and, in the case of extensions, those already established should enjoy exemption from customs duties on machinery, apparatus and materials not produced in the country. The law was retroactive, its benefits extending to factories built since October, 1922. The country was making every effort to encourage industrial enterprise.

The Municipal Council of Montevideo approved a proposal establishing a six-hour day for municipal laborers during the Summer months. A bill before Congress would require that all laborers employed on a daily basis be paid for Sundays and holidays. Uruguay has for years stood in the vanguard in respect to industrial legislation.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

THE answer of the Liberal Party to its crushing defeat in the elections of October, 1924, was given at the annual congress of the party which met in London on Jan. 29. Mr. Asquith, who lost his seat in the House of Commons last October and who has been raised to the peerage as the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, was continued as leader of the party, and to him Mr. Lloyd George, now the Liberal leader in the Commons, pledged his unqualified and unreserved loyalty. In opening the congress the new Lord Oxford declared that the Liberal Party was "now again on its feet, revitalized and as loyal and effective as ever to the cause of the democratic principles which had always been the foundation of British character."

The acceptance by Mr. Asquith of the Earldom proffered to him by King George "on the morrow of the election" in which his party was defeated removed from the House of Commons the last but one of Britain's great war leaders and a statesman who had been a prominent figure in the House almost continuously since 1886. It was expected that, "freed from the anxieties of personal electoral campaigning and yet not withdrawn from the atmosphere and life of Parliament itself," he would be able to devote all of his energies to Liberal leadership.

Communitistic propaganda and counter-propaganda continued to occupy a prominent place in the public press and mind.

Correspondence between the British Government, the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, published in London on Jan. 7, showed that the proposal of the late Labor Government for a joint British Empire inquiry into the question of imperial organization had

been dropped in favor of a "gradual evolution" of the existing system of inter-Cabinet consultation. A special representative of the Commonwealth has been attached to the office of the Australian High Commissioner in London, charged with the duty of maintaining permanent contact with the British Cabinet and with the Foreign and Colonial Offices. In Australia a corresponding secretariat, responsible to the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, has been organized, with the assistance of a member of the British Foreign Office, for the purpose of keeping the Commonwealth Government in close contact with its special representative in London.

The Board of Trade returns for December, which completed the record for 1924, showed a decided increase in British trade. The value of imports for the year was £1,279,844,597, an increase of £183,618,383; exports were valued at £795,364,581, an increase of £28,106,810, while re-exports of foreign and colonial produce amounted to £140,148,000. The excess of imports over exports for the year was thus £344,331,000, against £210,000,000 for 1923. Statistics were also published showing that following a steady increase in business failures between 1920 and 1924, a decrease of 162 had occurred during the latter year. British bankers and financiers interpreted these and other statistics, and the rapid rise of the pound sterling, which passed \$4.80 on Jan. 22, to indicate a permanent improvement in the economic situation of Great Britain.

In the field of industry labor unrest gave rise to a growing disquietude. While the formidable claims presented by the National Union of Railway Men were still under consideration 20,000 miners in the Derbyshire soft coal pits

demanding a 7½ per cent. wage increase under threat of a walkout. At the same time the Secretary of the National Miners' Federation made a series of speeches indicating a probable extension of the dispute. Nationalization, the Labor remedy for the admittedly-bad situation in the coal industry, he declared, was "no longer a theory. It was an absolute, practical necessity." The men in the building and engineering industries and in the postal services also indicated definitely that they were prepared to make determined efforts to improve their status and increase their wages. The seriousness of the effects of labor unrest was made evident by the publication of statistics which revealed that during the first eleven months of 1924 8,250,000 days of working time were lost through labor disputes.

Much suffering was caused during the month under review by a severe influenza epidemic which swept England and, at its height, caused 200 deaths per week in cities alone. Some depression was also caused by an increase of a penny a loaf in the price of bread, inaugurated on Feb. 1, following the rise of wheat prices in the American market.

At the annual conference of the Scottish Independent Labor Party, which opened in Glasgow on Jan. 10, the national organizing secretary reported that the party now had more than 1,000 branches, representing an increase in every division, and that he was fairly confident that by April there would be 1,500 branches. Determined efforts to secure authorization for the affiliation of Communist organizations were defeated by large majorities.

The publication of Government statistics revealed interesting facts with reference to three phases of Scottish life. Under various State-aid housing schemes 27,500 houses were completed since 1919, while 9,987 were under construction; the number of cases involving crime dealt with by the Scotch courts decreased by 20 per cent. during the past two years; and the population of the Isle of Man was steadily decreasing.

Ireland

PRESIDENT WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE of the Free State Executive Council returned from France on Jan. 16 and at once declared that rumors of his proposed resignation were baseless. Upon his first public appearance, at an election meeting on College Green, his speech was received with mixed booing and cheering. President Cosgrave defended the record of the Government in internal reforms, such as housing and the development of Irish industries. Admitting that taxation was high, he declared that the country, nevertheless, was receiving good value for its money. Two other events which were of significance in the political situation were a protest by Eamon de Valera against the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to Ireland, and the discovery by the police of a ton of explosives, many revolvers and hand grenades, small arms ammunition and a large quantity of bomb-making material in a house in a Dublin suburb.

The general business outlook during the month, however, according to American Consular reports, continued to be uncertain. The unsettled condition of the railways, growing adverse trade balance, the northern boundary situation, poor crops, high transportation charges, and growing competition in the British market by Danish dairy and poultry products and Canadian cattle were stated to be among the factors which were holding back business in the Free State.

During the month widespread distress developed in the West of Ireland. Although the Free State authorities denied that famine existed or that the situation could justly be compared with that of 1847, it was admitted that the situation was serious in certain localities. The counties affected were Cork, Kerry, Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Leitrim and Cavan. In some of them the shortage of food due to the failure of the potato crop was aggravated by lack of fuel, which followed a flooding of the peat bogs. Six thousand tons of coal, large quantities of timber for fuel and meals

for 18,000 children were distributed by the Government; a relief fund of £500,000 [\$2,500,000] was raised, but was declared inadequate.

Canada

IN a notable address delivered at Toronto on Jan. 16 Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Premier, declared that the Canadian Government proposed no further immediate tariff changes, stated that while Canada's national railway system would be strongly supported, the Canadian Pacific Railway would not be undermined, took a definite stand for an immigration policy based upon careful selection as to stock and quality and made an earnest plea for national unity. With reference to the tariff this meant, "a policy which will serve to minimize our economic differences, and enlarge our essential unity by a regard for the greatest good for the greatest number, and which covers Canada as a whole." Speaking at Ottawa on Jan. 19, the Prime Minister expressed his conviction that the British Empire would remain a "community of free nations," and that anything in the nature of an imperial federation or an imperial council was futile.

Statistics and estimates published at the end of the year indicated a fairly satisfactory economic situation in Canada. The final official estimate of the 1924 wheat crop put the figures at 262,097,000 bushels, valued at \$320,363,000, as against a crop of 474,199,000 bushels, valued at \$316,934,000 in 1923. The total exports for 1924 were \$1,070,000,000, an increase of \$42,000,000 over the preceding year, while imports were about \$100,000,000 less than in 1923, 80 per cent. of the reduction being in purchases from the United States. The chief weakness in the situation was that of the railways, which were adversely affected by the reduced wheat crop. Unemployment continued to be a serious problem in the larger cities, and on Jan. 8 the Prime Minister publicly announced that there would be no money grants from the Federal Treasury to relieve it.

Australia

IMPORTANT changes in the organization and the personnel of the Australian Cabinet were announced in Melbourne on Jan. 16. Major Gen. Sir Neville Howse, Director of Medical Services, Australian Forces, was appointed Minister of Defence and Health in succession to E. K. Bowden, who resigned on account of ill health. Senator R. V. Wilson was appointed chief of the new Immigration Department and certain other offices formerly administered by the Trade and Customs Department, while Mr. Marr, the chief Government whip, was appointed an Honorary Minister and Secretary to the Cabinet.

The waterside and shipping strike which had paralyzed the commerce of Australia for a month reached a crisis on Jan. 12, when members of the Waterside Workers' Federation rioted in Sydney to prevent the employment of ex-service men in accordance with the provisions of law. Declaring that it was the duty of the Government to protect the public, Prime Minister Bruce issued a statement the same day denouncing the Seamen's Union as having declared war on the community and announcing that the Government had applied for its deregistration. On Jan. 16 a steamer chartered by the Government and manned by a crew recruited under police protection sailed for Tasmania to bring off some 2,000 stranded tourists and convey the long-delayed mails.

The arrival of a considerable number of Italians and other Southern Europeans in Australian ports caused the Government of the State of Victoria officially to notify the Commonwealth Government that it felt serious misgivings in regard to this type of immigration. Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, was the scene of a riot that occurred as the result of a meeting of protest against the influx of immigrants from Italy. An agreement was recently concluded under which Great Britain undertook to advance to Australia approximately \$5,000,000 for every British 14,000 immigrants settled in the

Commonwealth. In a recent statement on the settlement which had taken place in Australia since the inauguration of the Empire Settlement act, Sir Joseph Cook, High Commissioner for Australia in London, declared that under its provisions 62,487 British settlers had been established in the Commonwealth between 1922 and the end of 1924.

New Zealand

ACTIVITY on the part of the Labor Party organization gave increasing indications of the determination to fight for enough seats to make it the second strongest party in the Legislature. Although the elections were not normally due until December, the names of five Labor candidates were already officially announced. Since 1922 the Reform Party, which has been in power continuously since 1912, has held office through the support of certain Liberals and independents who were pledged not to vote the Massey Government out unless the Liberals could accept office without Labor support. The strain of governing the country with such a narrow margin of power was said to have told severely upon the Prime Minister, and during the month there were increasing rumors that he would retire this year. As Mr. Massey has been the dominating political figure of the Dominion for more than a decade, such an event was expected to create a new political situation, of which Labor, the smallest but most efficient of the three parties, hoped to take advantage.

Large additions were made to the usual income of the Dominion by the large wool clip and the high price of the commodity. Six hundred thousand bales at an average price of £38, as compared to £23 per bale, meant prosperity for many New Zealand graziers and marked a recovery from the severe slump that followed the war.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations submitted to the Council of the League a report in which New Zealand was warmly commended for the manner in which it had

exercised its mandate for Western Samoa, "particularly as regards public health, the liquor traffic, education and the regulation of labor conditions."

South Africa

GENERAL HERTZOG, head of the Nationalist-Labor Government, in public statements indicated both opposition to the acceptance of the Geneva Protocol and indifference to the new proposal of the British Government that an Empire conference be held late in 1925 for the discussion of the question. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Malan, introduced a bill to amend the electoral act by providing that every letter, article, or other matter having reference to an election shall bear upon the face of it the full name and address of the writer. It was also announced that Dr. Malan had prepared for introduction into the Legislature a bill creating a South African nationality and a South African flag. At the same time, General Hertzog's segregation policy for the settlement of the race difficulties of the Union received an increased amount of attention in the press.

The Communist Congress of South Africa, sitting at Johannesburg and comprising delegates from all parts of the Union, decided that the relation between the Communist Party and the Labor Party should be on the basis of a "united front." A resolution looking toward affiliation with the Labor Party was rejected, the Congress declaring that the Communists should not become a part of the Labor movement, but rather remain a propaganda body without connection with any government.

Acting upon the recommendations of Professor V. W. Kemmerer of Princeton University and Dr. G. Vissering, President of the Netherlands Bank of Amsterdam, the Union Government announced on Jan. 17 its decision to return to a gold standard currency on July 1, 1925. The report of the experts declared that further inflation was needless, as South Africa's gold position was very strong. They also recommended

that the gold market in South Africa be made absolutely free.

India

AT the opening session of the Indian Legislature at Delhi on Jan. 21, the Viceroy, Lord Reading, reiterated the determination of the Government to suppress terrorism in Bengal, where, he declared, the lives and property of innocent citizens were at the mercy of pitiless criminal organizations. The Viceroy accorded the Governor of Bengal his full support in the certification of the criminal legislation necessary to meet the situation, which legislation had been rejected by the Indian-controlled Provincial Assembly. The bill, he declared, had been reserved for the assent of the King. Lord Reading also announced that the Government had decided to appoint a committee to consider the question of rupee exchange and that it was considering the deputation of a special officer to Kenya to consider the proposed colonization areas and their effect upon Indian settlers. Perhaps the most important legislative act of the first week of the session was the passage of a resolution providing a bounty of 5,000,000 rupees to the iron and steel industry of the country for one year. In presenting the resolution the Government declared that Continental steel was now arriving in India at a price which rendered the Protective Steel act ineffective, and that the bounty was to supplement the tariff protection afforded by that act. A bill proposing reciprocal treatment for the United States and the colonies which treat Indians as an inferior race was adopted on Feb. 3 by the Legislative Assembly by a vote of 49 to 41.

The Viceroy on Jan. 28 received a deputation consisting of distinguished representatives of the non-official and commercial communities, including a number of influential Europeans, who stated that the position of the Indian population of South Africa had become desperate since the passage of anti-

Indian legislation in Natal. The situation was declared to be fraught with peril for imperial relationships, particularly those between India and South

Newspaper discussion which followed the Belgaum meeting of the Indian National Congress revealed that native India was much disappointed at the outcome of the gathering, which did little but demonstrate the complete fall of Mahatma Gandhi and the elevation to power of the Bombay extremist C. R. Das and his well-organized following. The meeting of the Liberal Federation at Lucknow was also criticized because the party, although notoriously ill-organized and numerically weak, took no steps toward strengthening its organization or toward assisting in the successful working of the reforms in order to secure a further advance along constitutional lines. Convening on Jan. 26 as a result of the discussions held in Bombay in November last, a conference representing all parties resolved to appoint a committee to try to frame such recommendations as would enable all of them to join the Indian National Congress and to formulate a scheme for Swaraj (Home Rule).

Jamaica

A DELEGATION representing the Empire Parliamentary Association, headed by J. H. Thomas, former Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived in Jamaica on Jan. 20 and was extensively entertained during its investigation of conditions on the island. At a banquet in its honor Mr. Thomas declared that he was still opposed to a preferential tariff within the empire.

The Jamaica Legislature was dissolved on Jan. 7 and members at once plunged into the campaign preceding the February elections. The principal planks in the several platforms dealt with means of obtaining a greater investment of British capital in the island, a subsidized Jamaica-England steamship service, and the appointment of a Trade Commissioner.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

THE announcement that Premier Herriot had recovered from his recent illness put an end to the many reports that the Herriot Ministry was nearing its end.

The speech of Deputy Louis Marin in the French Chamber on Jan. 21, regarding the French debt to the United States, and the comments of Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in Washington (treated elsewhere in this issue), aroused animated discussion in the French press. A formal presentation of the French official attitude was made by Premier Herriot in his speech before the Chamber on Jan. 28. Concerning the debt to America, he said:

I repeat solemnly what has been said by M. Viviani and M. Poincaré—that France does not intend to disavow her debts. The Government over which I preside, devoted as it is to respect for treaties and agreements, will not disavow debts which France has contracted.

M. Herriot stated that negotiations were developing favorably, but declared that "France is deeply sensitive to (critical) expressions from abroad."

In this same speech the Premier further seized the occasion to pronounce a solemn warning to Germany. "Arbitration, security and disarmament," he declared, were the three pillars on which France was seeking to establish a real peace. The pact of Geneva was proof that she had not surrendered to militarism, but did the attitude of Germany afford any real confidence? The allies of France should understand that "while France is seeking to establish peace, she has a dagger pointing within a few inches of her heart and is asking only that this dagger be removed." The "moral disarmament" of Germany, declared the Premier, had not even begun. He cited elaborate figures to disprove the state-

ment of Dr. Stresemann that Germany had physically disarmed. "In Bavaria," he declared, "there is danger. In the return of the Crown Prince there is danger. But France is not discouraged."

The Premier immediately faced a serious revolt of the Socialists over his anti-German declarations and his vigorous assertion that he would not sacrifice the military security of the country for any chimerical schemes of disarmament. The Socialist Deputies went into caucus and invited M. Herriot to make a statement before them. It was reported that he addressed them with "unprecedented severity" and told them that he was ready to surrender the Premiership, but that that would mean the end of their influence in national matters. Convinced by this very direct argument, the Socialists agreed to back his foreign policy, and on a question of confidence he was supported in the Chamber by the largest vote he had ever received—541 to 32—only the Communists voting against him. It was reported at the Socialist convention at Grenoble (Feb. 8) that plans were being shaped to force the party to abandon its support of the Government.

The Government's religious policy continued to stir up animosities. A serious clash occurred at Aix-en-Provence on Jan. 18, when the Catholics organized a procession during which they chanted anthems, while the Communists also paraded, singing the "International" and other revolutionary songs. As the Catholics were wending their way toward the cathedral the two factions came to blows and only police intervention prevented a serious battle.

The debate upon the abandonment of the French Embassy to the Vatican began on Jan. 19 in the Chamber. M. Henry Simon, radical from the Tarn and Chairman of the Finance Commit-

tee, enraged the Conservatives by a two-hour speech in which he accused the Vatican of being pro-German during the war: "Because (he asserted) the Pope did not believe in French success, and when one does not believe in success it is almost the same thing as desiring failure." M. Aristide Briand, seven-times Premier of France and at present an avowed supporter of the Herriot administration, on Jan. 21 pleaded with the Premier not to insist on severing all relations with the Holy See. He declared that M. Herriot's sole reason for doing this was because such a measure had been an election pledge. But the Government ought now to take into account the weal of the entire country.

M. Herriot replied to his critics on Jan. 22. It was stated that "at no time in the last twenty years has a French Chief of State attacked the Vatican and the Pope with such oral ferocity." Relations with the Vatican could not be worse, he concluded. "We have nothing to lose. Every nation is free and we do not have to receive orders from the Pope."

To mitigate the criticisms of the Catholics, however, M. Herriot, on Jan. 26, announced that the relations of Alsace-Lorraine to the Papacy, as adjusted by the old Napoleonic Concordat with Rome, would continue for the present unaltered. Premier Herriot's statement regarding Alsace-Lorraine was confirmed on Feb. 3, when the Chamber of Deputies voted to maintain a chargé d'affaires at the Vatican to represent these provinces.

Evidences multiplied to show that the recognition of Soviet Russia was bringing little satisfaction to French public circles outside the extreme radicals. Premier Herriot, on Jan. 13, openly expressed his dissatisfaction at the speech of M. Zinoviev, President of the Third International, advising the French Communists as to how to carry on their propaganda, which, said the Russian leader, must be carefully organized with no premature attempts to "attain the desired results." More serious was the

attention given to the declarations of M. Rykov, the Bolshevik Premier, on the subject of Russia's debts to France, which were regarded by the French Foreign Office as "an admission that Moscow had no intention of recognizing those debts." M. Herbette, the French Ambassador at Moscow, was ordered to protest at these utterances and indicate that such an attitude might bring the new diplomatic relations to entire shipwreck. More emphatic still, it was stated, was the warning given by M. Herriot and President Doumergue personally to M. Krassin, Soviet Ambassador to France, on the eve of his departure for a visit to Moscow, that "Soviet tactics were becoming intolerable." The opinion was increasing in Paris that, despite disclaimers, the new Soviet Embassy was being used to promote Communist agitation in matters of strictly French concern.

A very peculiar strike was reported from the Town of Meudon, near Versailles. The City Council had protested against the decision of the Government to build an incinerating plant in Meudon for the destruction of the rubbish of Paris. The protest was disregarded. On Jan. 25, the date on which the regular municipal election was to have been held, not a single one of the 3,899 registered voters appeared at the polls, evidently regarding their absence as the best way of driving home the protest of the council. Meudon was thus left without any local government until the higher authorities could find some way out of the difficulty.

A committee headed by Premier Herriot and many prominent Deputies launched a "drive" for a fund of 10,000,000 francs to erect a great peace monument at some place not yet determined along the former battle line. The architect will be chosen by competition open to artists of all the nations sharing the triumph of the Allies. Meantime, in the Hotel des Invalides in Paris, there was placed a tablet designed by the sculptor Pierre Feitu, commemorating the deaths of forty-two French Gen-

erals who died in the World War in active service.

The increase of the cost of living continued to trouble the French people despite the apparently successful effort to stabilize the money system. It was announced on Jan. 21 that the price of bread had been increased 1 sou, to 1 franc 50 centimes per kilo (2 1-5 pounds). Beginning on Feb. 1, the price of all the regular Paris papers was raised from 15 to 20 centimes per issue.

Figures of another kind were recently issued showing that the number of divorces granted in 1924 to Americans in Paris was much smaller than commonly alleged—only 143 out of a total of 7,064. The whole number of divorces granted to other foreigners was only 151.

M. Emile Daeschner, new Ambassador of the French Republic to the United States, arrived in New York on Jan. 25, accompanied by his wife and their two daughters. M. Daeschner is described as "spare and more than six feet tall. His hair and mustache are slightly gray, and he carries his 61 years lightly." He has never been in the United States before, but speaks English well, thanks to several years' service in the French Embassy in London. He comes of an Alsatian Protestant family and was educated as a lawyer, but for the past thirty-eight years has been connected with French Government business. After a long service as attaché in the Paris Foreign Office, he became attaché at the London Embassy, then First Secretary of the French Embassy at Madrid, then First Secretary at London. After another term of very responsible service in the Paris Ministry, he was sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to Lisbon in 1913, and then to Bucharest in 1920. He was head of the Bureau of Administrative Affairs in the Paris Foreign Office when he was ordered to Washington. He is a commander of the Legion of Honor.

M. Daeschner formally presented his credentials to President Coolidge at Washington on Jan. 30.

Belgium

A SERIOUS setback was reported in the project for rebuilding the ruined Library of the University of Louvain. A total of 7,000,000 francs had been already spent, and now, with 12,000,000 francs still needed for completion, Mgr. Ladeuze, rector of the university, had been obliged to call upon Herbert Hoover, as President of the Commission for Relief of the Belgian Educational Foundation, for some form of relief. The work was originally undertaken by an American group headed by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, New York City, but this group had been compelled to announce that it was unable to complete the building.

Despite the absence of the defendants in Germany, Belgium courts-martial continue to hand down sentences against German war criminals. A German sergeant named Muller was sentenced at Namur on Jan. 23 to pay the penalty of death for the alleged killing of a Belgian workingman, while sentences of twenty years of hard labor each were imposed on Colonel Hulsen and Captain Leppig for alleged acts of arson.

It was announced to the Belgian Parliament on Jan. 23 that the internal debt of the country was about 92,000,000,000 francs. The external debt was given as about 9,250,000,000 francs and the debt due the United States was set at \$383,000,000.

According to official statistics, during 1924 9,686 emigrants sailed from the port of Antwerp. Of these emigrants, however, only 1,967 were Belgians and 1,483 were Russians. It is worthy of note that the United States received only 2,916 of the total, while 6,128 went to Canada and 560 to South America.

Brussels is at last able to pride itself upon having real communication with the ocean. The steamer John Lundvall, a craft of 3,500 tons and 310 feet in length, arrived in December via the canal with a cargo of lumber direct from Sweden. This is the largest vessel that ever reached Brussels.

Germany and Austria

By HARRY J. CARMAN

Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

GERMANY'S long-drawn-out political crisis came to an end on Jan. 15 when Dr. Hans Luther, former Lord Mayor of Essen and Minister of Finance in the Marx Cabinet, was officially named as Chancellor. Following the failure of Dr. Marx to form a non-party Government, President Ebert requested Herr Luther to undertake the task. After considerable delay, occasioned principally by the opposition of the Centrists, the new Chancellor finally succeeded in selecting what is in reality Germany's first conservative bourgeoisie Cabinet since the founding of the republic. The various portfolios (with the exception of that for Transportation, which was left open) were filled as follows:

DR. GUSTAV STRESEMANN (German People's Party)—Foreign Affairs.

HERR VON SCHLIEBEN (Nationalist)—Finance.

MARTIN SCHIELE (Nationalist)—Interior.

DR. KARL NEUHAUS (Nationalist)—Economics.

COUNT VON KANITZ (Nationalist)—Agriculture.

HEINRICH BRAUNS (Centrist)—Labor.

DR. JOSEPH FRENKEN (Centrist)—Justice.

HERR STINGL (Bavarian People's Party)—Posts and Telegraphs.

OTTO GESSLER (Democrat)—Defense.

In comparison with its predecessors the new Cabinet shows a decided tendency toward the Right. Of the new members, Herr Schiele is well known as a land owner of the old Junker type and one of the floor leaders of the Nationalists in the Reichstag. His younger brother played a prominent part in the Kapp putsch a few years ago. Herr von Schlieben is a member of the order of the Knights of Saint John, a monarchical organization. Neuhaus and Stingl are men new to public office. Three mem-

bers, Stresemann, Gessler and Brauns, held portfolios in the former Government. The new Chancellor is the first civil service official to hold that office. In point of individual qualifications, the Ministry is regarded in many quarters as the ablest since the revolution.

The Reichstag, by a vote of 246 to 160, placed its stamp of approval on the new Cabinet on Jan. 22. The Nationalists, the German People's Party, the Economic Union, the Bavarian People's Party and most of the Centrists supported the Government; while the Socialists, the Communists and a few Centrists, including former Chancellor Wirth, voted against it. Thirty-nine members—the Extremists of the Right (the Ludendorff party) and the Democrats—abstained from voting.

In outlining the program which his Government intended to pursue Chancellor Luther emphasized the importance of enacting economic legislation, particularly tax and tariff reforms. Reports relative to the celebrated Barmat case and other financial scandals involving Government officials, he declared, were filled with "extraordinary exaggerations and entirely unjustified generalities." He emphatically denied the assertion of the Left that his Cabinet was monarchical and primarily interested in establishing the old régime. He pledged it, he said, to combat everything anti-republican, and he also took occasion to deplore the recent attempt to besmirch President Ebert's reputation. Turning to the question of foreign policy, he decried the allied attitude on the evacuation of Cologne and challenged the Entente to produce evidence which would show that military training was being carried on in Germany contrary to the Versailles Treaty. He

frankly stated that the Dawes plan would be carried out, but intimated that its revision might be necessary and gave assurance that no stone would be left unturned to improve Germany's commercial and political relations with other nations.

The debate which followed the Chancellor's declarations was extremely bitter; not only did the Communists denounce Luther as a "henchman of Morgan," but they raised such a turmoil that for a time he was prevented from speaking. One of the Communist leaders, Ruth Fisher, was applauded by the extremists of the Right when she declared that English and American capitalists planned to reduce Germany to the status of a colony for exploitation. The Socialist leader, Dr. Breitscheid, assailed the new Government; his statement that it was "merely the first stage on the road toward the restoration of the German monarchy" brought forth a "Thank God" from a Nationalist member who, in turn, was greeted with a hurricane of hisses from the Centre and the Left. Pandemonium almost broke loose when Breitscheid declared that the complaints of the Interallied Military Control Commission could not be entirely refuted, inasmuch as students had participated in military training in the Reichswehr. Count Westarp, the Nationalist leader, on the other hand, defended the new Government; it was bound, he said, to carry out the Dawes plan and would not fail to do so. Westarp was the target of a bitter onslaught from the Left, especially from the Communists, who demanded his arrest as a traitor because of his recent speech at Stuttgart in which he said "Kaiserless times are frightful times. Germans need a strong leader. We must realize that the only way for us to free ourselves from the miserable slavery is to return to what made us great and powerful—monarchy, Kaiser and empire." Herr Scholz, speaker for the People's Party, also defended the Cabinet, but Herr Koch, the Democratic leader, was very uncomplimentary in his remarks. "The promises made by the Nationalists dur-

ing the last five years," he said, "cannot be reconciled with their presence in the Government. They must either betray their constituents or Chancellor Luther." Dr. Fehrenbach, spokesman for the Centrists, in whose hands the fate of the Government really rested, made it clear that his party accepted the new Cabinet because it was the only solution of an otherwise long crisis and that the Centrists reserved the right to withdraw their approval at any time.

A striking point about the Opposition was the bitter antagonism raging between the Socialists and the Communists; each accused the other of making the Luther Government possible. The Socialists declared that the Cabinet came into being because of Communist opposition to the Middle Party coalition. The Communists retorted that the existence of the Luther Cabinet proved conclusively that the Socialists and the Democrats were only pretending to be friends of the republic when, as a matter of fact, they were henchmen of the monarchists and capitalists. In case the Luther Government should veer toward monarchy, the Left parties would undoubtedly unite and call a general strike. To minimize the threat of such action, the new Cabinet ordered restoration of the eight-hour day for coke and blast furnace workers, effective April 1.

That a pronounced monarchistic trend was sweeping over Germany was further evident from the fact that on Jan. 23 Prussian monarchists, aided by Communists, succeeded in ousting the Prussian coalition Government headed by the Socialist, Otto Braun. The resignation of the Premier and his colleagues came at the end of a battle of confidence votes, the last of which stood 222 out of 450 against the Cabinet. After a futile effort to form a purely bourgeoisie Cabinet, as demanded by the Nationalists, People's Party, Fascisti and the Economic Party, Herr Braun was again elected Premier. Unable to construct a workable Government, he again resigned on Feb. 2. Unless a candidate could be found who could secure a Cabinet that would command a workable majority

of the Parliament, the legislative body was to be dissolved. The German People's Party and the Nationalists desired to eliminate the Socialists from all participation in the Prussian Government. That they would succeed seemed unlikely, owing to the determined attitude of both the Democrats and the Clericals to prevent such a move. Meanwhile the monarchists displayed marked activity. A two-day rally was held in Magdeburg on Jan. 18 to celebrate the foundation of the empire; students and soldiers took a prominent part in the festivities. On Jan. 27, the ex-Kaiser's sixty-sixth birthday, the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, a Junker organ, burst forth with the following: "Let us today vow never to rest until the old yellow imperial banner and the purple royal standard wave again over the ancient Hohenzollern palace in Berlin." That Wilhelm himself believes in the restoration of monarchy is evident from the autographed dedication of his memoirs.

The action of the Government in granting without Reichstag sanction more than \$175,000,000 to the big Ruhr industrialists as indemnity for payments made by them to the French and Belgians occupying the Ruhr, resulted in a fierce and vituperative battle between those who contended that the credits were legitimate and those who denounced them as a gross misappropriation of public funds. The Government maintained that it was empowered to act by special emergency legislation. The Socialists and Communists, on the other hand, denounced the grant as a piece of capitalistic favoritism. A full official explanation was promised. A report of the Saar governmental commission to the League of Nations Council stated that German immigrants were pouring into the Saar territory; students of international politics saw in this movement a bearing on the plebiscite scheduled to be held in 1936.

Several factors seemed to indicate that economic conditions in Germany were steadily improving. Finance Minister von Schlieben announced on Jan. 28 that the country would in all probabil-

ity avert a deficit this year. During the first nine months of the current fiscal year revenues exceeded estimates for the whole fiscal year. For the income tax, receipts of 1,344,000,000 gold marks in the full year were estimated, but actual receipts of the nine months were 1,598,000,000. The corporation income tax, for which 144,000,000 had been expected in the full year, yielded 230,000,000 in the nine months. For the business turnover tax 1,260,000,000 had been foreshadowed for the year and 1,353,000,000 had been collected in nine months. For the customs revenue and the beer tax estimates for the year had been 160,000,000 and 126,000,000, respectively, whereas the nine months' yield was 230,000,000 and 146,000,000. Nearly half the Reich's revenue would go for war pensions.

Furthermore, it was announced on Jan. 24 that the first instalment of the 100,000,000 marks to apply on interest payments for the 11,000,000,000 marks issue of German railway obligations would be available March 1. Traffic statistics for Berlin and general industrial figures furnished additional evidence of economic progress.

The heirs of Hugo Stinnes absorbed the entire holdings of Camille Castiglioni, who, as head of the Alpine Montan Corporation and twelve affiliated iron and smelting corporations, was at one time the biggest business man in Austria. When the Morgan loan sent the French franc from 28 to 16 to the dollar, M. Castiglioni was one of the worst hit; his banks failed and all his corporations were financially embarrassed.

It was announced in Vienna on Feb. 3 that all criminal proceedings instituted against Castiglioni had been quashed.

During the month under review the National City Company of New York loaned Saxony \$15,000,000 at 7 per cent. for development of electrical power. American business interests in Germany were striving to have the present passport visa formality obviated.

Grave apprehension was officially expressed lest ratification of the Ameri-

can-German commercial treaty should be jeopardized by American agitation against the proposed clause in the treaty granting to German goods taken to America in German ships the same privileges as goods taken there in American ships. News reached German ears that American shipping interests were bringing pressure to bear in Washington to have this clause eliminated from the treaty, which was to come up for ratification during this session of Congress. In official circles in Berlin it was declared that negotiations regarding this clause must continue, since Germany attached immense importance to its being retained.

Ex-Chancellor Gustav Bauer, prominent Socialist leader, was forced to resign (Feb. 6) as a member of the Reichstag. His resignation was due to publication by the *Lokal-Anzeiger* of a letter tending to show that he had profited financially from association with the Barmat brothers, who were placed under arrest pending investigation of credits obtained by them from the Prussian State Bank. Another development in this case was the resignation on Feb. 9 of Dr. Anton Hoeple as a member of the Reichstag. Dr. Hoeple's resignation followed charges that, as Minister of Posts, he was responsible for losses incurred by the Government in the bank crash.

Austria

RECENT reports pictured Austria as still staggering on the brink of economic chaos. Several factors were said to account for this. In the first place the National Government, composed of Christian Socialists and Pan-Germanists, was primarily interested in re-establishing the country on a better economic basis and in carrying out the League of Nations financial plan. Its efforts in this direction, however, were handicapped by the fact that the Social Democratic Party controlled the municipal province of Vienna, which not only contains 2,000,000 out of the total population of 7,000,000 and 60 per cent. of the

taxable wealth of the country, but, under the present national Constitution, enjoys complete fiscal autonomy. The Social Democrats, imbued with Marxianism and interested in benefiting the capital city, were able, therefore, by means of provincial and municipal taxes to collect almost as much money as the National Government. This year, for example, Vienna's provincial budget totaled approximately \$60,000,000, while municipal taxes added another \$20,000,000; the national budget totaled approximately \$110,000,000.

In the second place, it was asserted that confiscatory taxation had ruined business. The Federal taxes included a tax of 36 per cent. on all corporation profits and another of from 2 to 10 per cent. on business returns. The income tax amounted to 45 per cent. and the luxury tax to 30 per cent. In addition there were complicated land and property taxes. If one lives in Vienna he must bear the extra burden of heavy municipal taxes; if he has servants he is taxed, if he goes to the theatre he pays a 40 per cent. entertainment tax, if he owns an automobile he pays a tax beginning at 1,500,000 crowns per horse power, if he runs a night café he must pay 60 per cent. of his receipts to the Government. Hotels, too, must pay 45 per cent. of their room rentals to the city and 5 per cent. to the State.

Furthermore, it was stated that both private interests and provincial authorities of Austria were unable to obtain money abroad. So acute was the shortage of capital that ordinary business loans paid 18 to 20 per cent. The fruition of Government plans for development of Austria's water power had also been retarded by lack of capital. Though the crown had been stabilized at 70,000,000 to the dollar, its purchasing power was falling; this in turn threatened to increase the difficulties arising from the constantly unfavorable foreign trade balance, which amounted to 68,000,000 gold crowns monthly. Both fuel and food imports contributed largely to this deficit. The economic situation was markedly noticeable in

Vienna; here a great social transformation was taking place. Bourgeoisie gayety was disappearing, and of the forty night cafés and restaurants of a year ago only six remain. Half the city's theatres were dark; jazz bands had replaced the old Vienna orchestras. The old régime, it was said, had been replaced by a new one in which the welfare of the workmen was emphasized.

The December report of Dr. Zimmermann, the League's Commissioner General of Austria's finances, was far from being optimistic. Among other things it stated that changing Ministries had retarded the completion of reconstruction, suggested that credit be limited to prevent the sudden skyrocketing of prices, and that a deficit of \$12,500,000 would be incurred unless the policy of cutting down the Government personnel be continued. The report was severely criticized by the Austrian press. Though Dr. Zimmermann admitted that conditions had not been good since a number of large private banks failed last Spring (1924) as a result of overspeculation, he nevertheless believed that fundamentally Austria was improving.

Keen observers realized that the great problem was whether a small agrarian State with an enormous city could form a self-sustaining unit. In the event that it could not, three alternative solutions were proposed: (1) The Danubian Confederation, with Austria at its head; (2) restoration of the Hapsburg empire, the aim of the Legitimists, and (3) union with Germany. In January the Pan-Germanist leaders, Franck and Dinghofer, discussed the question of union with Chancellor Luther, Foreign Minister Stresemann and other German statesmen. The Austrian Government was bound by international arrangement to oppose any separate agreement with foreign powers. The further extension of existing trade treaties and removal of the present burdensome restrictions on travel between the two countries were discussed by representatives of the two countries.

An international tribunal of Social Democrats, which ended its session in Vienna on Jan. 27, declared void a compact made in 1921 between Hungarian Socialists and Premier Bethlen, whereby the Socialists promised to withhold opposition on certain issues in return for protection by parties of the Right. This decision, it was believed, would have an important international bearing, inasmuch as it might form a precedent for the guidance of Socialist parties in other countries. In January it was reported that diplomats at the Austrian capital were of the opinion that M. Joffe, Soviet envoy to Vienna, was using the city as headquarters for Communist work throughout Central and Southeastern Europe.

The bread factory belonging to the Viennese Social Democratic Party, capitalized at 1,000,000,000 Austrian crowns, and supplying 40 per cent. of Vienna's bread, passed into the hands of private capital on Jan. 1. Fifteen years ago this large bread factory, with its own flour mills, was founded by the Social Democratic Party as an example of socialism and in order to control bread prices. Two thousand workmen were employed. It was generally believed that the sale of the factory spelled the failure of a Socialistic ideal. The recent dissolution of the Workmen's Councils by the Social Democratic Party was also considered to mean a partial return to pre-war conditions.

The one-month permit issued to Archduke Leopold Salvator by the Seipel Government was revoked on Jan. 24 after various labor organizations had warned the authorities that the Archduke's presence would inevitably precipitate trouble.

The Ambulance Association of Vienna reported on Feb. 4 that the preceding month had been the worst for suicides and attempted suicides in the forty-three years of its existence. The total number of cases was 149, as against the monthly average of about 40. The association attributed this wave of self-destruction to the general distress prevalent in the capital city.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Professor of Latin, Vassar College

AFTER Mussolini's wholesale suppression of Opposition newspapers and his sweeping restrictions on the actions of his political foes, the opening of Parliament on Jan. 12 was anxiously awaited. It was believed that the "Aventine" Opposition, deprived of an opportunity to express its views in the press, would come back to the Chamber of Deputies which it has boycotted since the murder of Matteotti. But the Deputies continued to stay away, expressing their decision in a manifesto, which, after some delay, the Government allowed to be published. The opening paragraph of the long and rather academic document gives the Opposition's estimate of the situation. It reads as follows:

We have entered upon the last phase of the conflict between the country and the ruling power of the Fascists. The mask of constitutionality and normality has fallen. The Government tramples upon the basic laws of the State, stifles the free voice of the press, suppresses every right of assembly, mobilizes the armed forces of its own party, persecutes citizens and associations, while it tolerates and leaves unpunished the devastation and fire which overwhelm its adversaries and degrade Italy in the eyes of the civilized world.

When Parliament opened on Jan. 12 without the Aventine Opposition, Mussolini, following the decision of the Council of Ministers, submitted a bill for the control of secret societies—a measure aimed at the Freemasons, whom the Fascists have bitterly opposed for the past six months. The bill read as follows:

Article 1—Associations, clubs and secret organizations active in the kingdom must submit to the police their constitutions and by-laws, lists of officers and members and any information concerning their activities. This duty applies to all those having directive functions or representative functions in said organizations. Whoever violates these rules will

be punished by imprisonment for not less than three months and a fine of from 2,000 to 6,000 lire. If the information given to the police proves to be false or incomplete, the penalty will be imprisonment for not less than one year and a fine of from 5,000 to 30,000 lire, besides interdiction from holding public office for five years.

Article 2—Officials, clerks and agents of any kind in the employment of the State, Provinces or Communes, or institutions responsible by law to the State, Provinces or Communes, cannot belong even as simple members to associations, clubs or organizations working in a secret way. Whoever disregards this ruling will be discharged from the service; those who belong to such organizations and are now serving under the State Provinces or Communes must resign their membership.

Article 3—The present law will take effect from the moment of its publication in the official gazette.

The bill was introduced on the unanimous recommendation of the Council of Fifteen appointed by Mussolini to consider reforming the Constitution. A report which they submitted pointed out in strong terms the evil influence of Freemasonry in Italy today. The statement was made that the Masons—a group which is notoriously anti-Catholic in sentiment—"keep alive the conflict between the Government and the Vatican and thus delay the spiritual union of all Italians." It was further asserted that "by carrying on propaganda for the vulgar negation of all religion and for presumptuous and abstract rationalism, Freemasonry is causing irreparable damage to the state of mind of the Italian people."

Another bill which Mussolini brought to the Chamber provided for a plan to revise the penal and civil code. The changes proposed would greatly increase the power of the police.

Although the united Opposition did

not come to the Chamber, the Communist delegates, who had in general stayed away but who had never joined forces with the Aventine Opposition, came to Parliament on Jan. 14 and made a demonstration in favor of Lenin and the Russian revolution. After the close of the long and violent speech of their representative, Grieco, the Communists left the Chamber again.

The chief discussion in Parliament was concerned with a vote of confidence in the Government and with the proposed election law. The three Liberal ex-Premiers, Giolitti, Orlando and Salandra, all of whom were once allied with the flanking movement that favored Mussolini, united in a movement against Mussolini, and formed the chief elements of opposition within the Chamber. Representatives of the war veterans stood with them. Orlando offered a resolution to the effect that it was impossible for the present Government to hold fair elections as long as it persisted in its present policy of curtailing the freedom of the press and the individual liberty of the citizens. The resolution had to be withdrawn, but the ex-Premiers were prominent in the discussion that led up to the vote of confidence. Giolitti, though insisting that genuine elections could not be held by the Fascists, was twice interrupted by Mussolini with these comments: "You could give me a lesson as to how to run an election." "You may rest assured that we will not use the artillery in our elections. It takes you to do that." Salandra, who was prevented by reasons of health from attending the meeting, published in the official *Agenzia Stefani* the statement that he had expected to make in the Chamber in explanation of his reasons for abandoning his support of the Government. It said in part:

Our efforts for the past two years to harmonize Fascism with the best traditions of Italian liberalism have come to nought. Our loyal and disinterested collaboration has been useless. It is a bitter disappointment, but we must acknowledge it like men, though with heartfelt regret. * * * I do not consider that Italy requires a form of government dif-

ferent from that under which she has lived in the time of Mussolini's predecessors from Cavour onward. If she lapsed from that form she would descend from her present position in the front rank of peoples.

Salandra ended his statement with an ardent affirmation of the strength and vitality of the liberal ideas which, as he had stated before the elections last Spring, he believed that Fascism would embody.

Before the vote Delcroix, leader of the war invalids, declared that he would support the Government, but that a return to normality was essential before elections could be held. His statement was not unlike the one that Salandra made not long before his recent break with Mussolini, and it was taken to mean that, though his patience was greater than Salandra's, it had its limits. There was some fear that the Aventine Opposition might, before the vote, suddenly swoop down upon the Chamber and defeat the Government, and to forestall such a possibility Fascist delegates who were absent were summoned from all parts of Italy. The Opposition did not come and the vote was 307 to 33 in favor of the Government. The majority was large, though less large when it is remembered that 356 members of the present Chamber were Mussolini's personal appointees. The election law was passed after the Government, at the insistence of members of the majority, had removed from it the provision giving plural votes to 100,000 people. After that vote the Chamber was adjourned on Jan. 17 to reassemble in the middle of February.

The Senate, which convened immediately after the Chamber was closed, concerned itself chiefly with the proposal of Minister Di Giorgio for the reform and reduction of the army. A committee of Senators headed by General Giardino reported against the bill.

There were reports of serious friction between the Catholic or Popular Party and the Socialists, which, it was thought, might lead to the break-up of the united Aventine Opposition, but the

difficulties which had arisen from the Church's opposition to a union of Catholics with Socialists seemed for the moment to be healed. There were also signs of further disunion among the followers of Mussolini. It was announced on Feb. 2 that Deputy Torre and several other Piedmont Fascisti had withdrawn their support from the Government and were forming a dissident Fascist movement of some importance. Deputy Torre declared that he expected all the Fascisti in Piedmont to follow him. Piedmont is also the home of the dissident Fascist movement started by Forni two years ago. The reasons that Torre and his associates gave for their defection were concerned rather with Mussolini's failure to consider them than with any fundamental attack on his principles. It was also announced that Lieutenant Locatelli, who aroused great admiration in America by his attempt to make a transatlantic flight in a hydroplane in 1924, had resigned his post as Deputy because of his opposition to the Government's present aviation program.

The sequestration of newspapers continued during January, and most of the chief Opposition papers of Rome, Milan, Genoa and other large cities had their issues confiscated repeatedly. Political meetings of the Opposition continued to be prohibited. Serious disturbances were recorded from various parts of Italy and particularly from Tuscany. The destruction of Catholic organizations in Pisa provoked Cardinal Maffi, Archbishop of Pisa, to make this public statement: "Pisa was normalized yesterday. As a Bishop I wept over it; as an Italian I blushed for it."

Meantime, in spite of the favorable condition of the Italian budget as compared, for instance, with the French, the lira fell and prices at home continued to rise. The latest increase of importance affected the price of bread and was received with the same disfavor that had met such increases in the past. The civil servants failed to receive the expected bonus and began

demanding the withdrawal of Minister Stefani with his rigid but unpopular economies. The crowds of visitors expected for Holy Year had not arrived and the hotels of Rome, which had raised their prices, were comparatively thinly inhabited. Mussolini's organ, the *Popolo d'Italia*, published the following editorial on the attitude of the press toward a false report that Mussolini had been assassinated:

It is the silence of those who knew and were responsible, who plotted first to set going their appalling campaign of scandal; secondly, the moral question; and, thirdly, the blow on the Bourse. Their whole object was to ruin the lira just at the moment when the Italian finances are winning the most glorious victory of all, to create abroad a feeling of alarm and disgust with the Italy governed by Benito Mussolini and to frighten away the pilgrims coming to Rome for the Anno Santo (Holy Year).

The news fills us with anguish. Catholic quarters are convinced that people's lives in Italy are in danger. Why does not the Vatican contradict this abominable campaign against Italy, got up by Jews, Freemasons and Protestants, working feverishly to wreck the Holy Year? It is a positive crusade of heretics, atheists, perverts and Protestants against Catholicism, Rome and the Pontiff. The Fascist Government is the only defense of religion from the yawning abyss. The Church is spiritually burgeoning in the calm Spring air of Fascism. Never in the course of history has our existence as a nation been so menaced. Conscious of the immense gravity of the situation, let us take steps to defend ourselves. This defense is the urgent mission of Fascism.

Giacomo di Martino was transferred from Tokio to the embassy at Washington to succeed Prince Caetani, who resigned his post in the Fall of 1924 and returned to Italy in January. Di Martino is one of the most eminent men in the Italian diplomatic service. He was Secretary General in the Italian Foreign Office during the war and has since been Ambassador to Berlin, London and Tokio. It was authoritatively reported at Rome on Feb. 3 that Signor di Martino would go to Washington empowered to open negotiations for the adjustment of Italy's debt to the United States.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

Albania

SOMEWHAT before the fall of Premier Fan Noli's Government at the end of December, Albania lodged a protest with the Secretariat of the League of Nations against alleged Yugoslav raids in Albanian territory and interference in the country's domestic affairs. The Yugoslav Government made a formal reply, which, given out at Geneva on Jan. 6, categorically denied the charges and attacked Fan Noli as a man who was "periodically making fantastic and ill-intentioned accusations against Yugoslavia." Once again it was declared that the Yugoslav Government had no policy or intention which was inconsistent with Albanian independence.

Meanwhile, to an appeal by the ex-Premier for support against the triumphant Ahmed Zogu, the League replied that it regarded the revolution as a matter of internal domestic politics and hence was not disposed to intervene. Fan Noli is now living as an exile in Vienna.

Ahmed Zogu, head of the new Government, on Jan. 23 officially informed the League that the Albanian National Assembly had unanimously proclaimed the country a republic. To all intents and purposes the turbulent little State has really been a republic since the flight of Prince William of Wied and his staff in the Autumn of 1914; during these ten years the formal head of the State has been a Council of Regents representing the four principal religions.

Czechoslovakia

THE subjects that chiefly engaged the attention of the Czechoslovak Parliament in recent weeks were four in number—social insurance for persons in independent occupations, simplification and reduction of taxes, customs tariffs,

and the relation of the State to various religious bodies, especially the Roman Catholic Church. All were highly contentious, but the fourth promised to be the most troublesome. The present close connection of the State with the Roman Catholic Church was an inheritance from the late monarchy and the Government desired to bring it to an end. Efforts in this direction, however, called out a pastoral letter from the Slovak Bishops forbidding all Catholics to hold membership in anti-church organizations, including the five parties which constitute the support of the present Svehla Government. In his New Year's address in reply to felicitations of the Presidents of the two houses of Parliament and the Prime Minister, President Masaryk declared that he did not regard the proposed separation as anti-religious, but considered, on the contrary, that it would result in an intensified spiritual life. The Catholic authorities, however, remain unconvinced, and a bitter struggle seemed to be impending.

Students of government noted the shift of gravity of the work of the Czechoslovak Parliament from the plenum, or general meeting, to the committees, so that the chief weight no longer attaches to oratorical efforts in the chambers, but to effective work done in the quiet of committee rooms. This is a phenomenon more or less common to all present-day legislative bodies, but especially observable among those in States where the Government is a coalition, drawing support, as in Czechoslovakia, from a considerable number of parties.

Two recent developments beyond Czechoslovak borders upset various calculations at Prague and stirred considerable apprehension. One was the Conservative victory in Great Britain, which directly affected Czechoslovakia in that the carrying out of the guarantee

compact arranged by Mr. Benès with Premiers MacDonald and Herriot, when the general reduction of armies was agreed upon, was postponed by the Baldwin Government, entailing a cessation of the reduction under way in Czechoslovakia and the diversion of 800,000,000 Czech crowns, set aside for industrial rehabilitation, to military expenses.

The second perturbing event was the formation of the new anti-Bolshevist Balkan bloc immediately after the arrival of the Soviet envoy Joffe in Vienna, and under the leadership, not of Czechoslovakia, but of Yugoslavia. Czechoslovakia was the initiator, and until lately she had been the recognized leader, of the Little Entente. Many times it had been predicted that this important combination would come to grief on the Soviet question, but usually it had been supposed that in such an event Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia would stand together as against the ardently anti-Bolshevist Rumania. It now appeared that Yugoslavia was closer to Rumania than to Czechoslovakia; and her decision to assert her own leadership as a Balkan power threatened the priority which Prague, under the clever management of Foreign Minister Benès, has enjoyed.

The first week of January saw the founding at Prague of a Czechoslovak Academy of Agriculture, the third of its kind to be established in Europe. It is modeled on the Agricultural Academy in Paris, but is planned on broader lines, and is linked up politically with the Agrarian Party. Its President, Dr. Hodza, the Minister of Agriculture, is an active leader of that party, as is also Premier Svehla.

Greece

UPON the resignation of George Roussos as Foreign Minister on Jan. 19, Premier Michalakopoulos took over the Foreign Office, one of his first tasks being to notify the League of Nations that the Athens Government had decided not to ratify the Geneva Protocol of Arbitration, Security and Disarmament.

M. Roussos subsequently left for the United States to negotiate for the payment of the balance of the American war credits, which was suspended on the return of the late King Constantine. Replying to an inquiry on the action it proposed to take in regard to the resolution adopted by the Fourth Assembly of the League on limitation of expenditure on armaments, the Greek Government expressed full sympathy with the resolution; and said that it intended only to replace old war equipment with new and to take such further measures as would insure the country's protection, adding that it would be glad to keep outlays at a minimum if neighboring States would do likewise.

A report to the Council of the League of Nations by the Mixed Commission in charge of the interchange of Greek and Turkish populations indicated that a total of 36,625 Greeks left Constantinople up to the last week of January and that at that time the work of evacuation was almost complete. The enforced removal applied only to Greeks who arrived in the city after Oct. 31, 1918. A storm of controversy was raised at the end of the month by the expulsion of the Most Reverend Constantinos, Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church. Dr. Constantinos arrived at Saloniki on Feb. 1.

The indignation of the Greek Nation as a whole at this unceremonious ejection of the supreme religious head, not only of the Greek, but of all members of the Orthodox faith, found expression in mass meetings, parades and other public demonstrations.

Following a conference of leading banking interests, plans were made for the formation of a General Union of Greek Banks, enabling large works to be executed with the participation of both Greek and foreign capital. It was expected that the first works undertaken would include a supply of electric light and power for Athens and the Piraeus and also a supply of water for Athens. A new Athenian police force, organized by a British Police Mission, was installed on Jan. 14.

Hungary

REPORTS in the middle of January indicated that Mr. Jeremiah H. Smith Jr., the American Commissioner-General in charge of the financial reconstruction of Hungary, had suffered a nervous breakdown. Two weeks later, however, it was learned that his recovery was almost complete and that he expected to be able to attend the financial conference at Geneva on Feb. 6, in company with Premier Bethlen. Meanwhile the program of Hungary's financial rehabilitation went forward.

The political situation continued unsettled. On the one side, the Social Democrats, while in the main boycotting the Government, were involved in hot internal fights. It was announced on Jan. 26 that an effort was to be made to compose these differences through the mediation of an international jury consisting of four members of the International Federation of Labor. On the other hand, the Legitimists worked incessantly for the restoration of monarchy, presumably in the person of Prince Otto, eldest son of former Emperor Charles. The monarchist program centred in the return of former Empress Zita and her children to Hungarian soil.

Meantime a plan was ripening in Government circles for the establishment of an Upper Chamber and the conversion of the present National Assembly into a House of Deputies. On the nature of suffrage and the question of the secret ballot, however, there were sharp differences of opinion.

Poland

THE agreement of Dec. 15, 1924, by which the Polish debt to the United States, amounting to \$178,560,000, was funded and complete arrangement for administration made was ratified unanimously by the Polish Diet on Jan. 23. The debt is due for food credits extended in 1919 and 1920.

It was hardly to be expected that the free city of Danzig and the republic of

Poland would altogether escape clashes of sentiment and of policy; and the month of January gave rise to one such conflict which drew the attention first of all Europe, and later of the world at large. The dispute arose over postal facilities and turned primarily upon the question of whether Polish postal sovereignty in Danzig was to be considered as restricted absolutely to the Polish post office maintained, by the authority of the League of Nations, in the city; to be more specific, whether the right to conduct a post office involved the right to put up letter boxes. One morning early in the month Danzigers awoke to find mail boxes, painted in the Polish national colors, all over their town, for letters addressed to Poland. The Danzig authorities protested, but in vain; and hot-heads proceeded to daub the disputed boxes with the old black, white, and red colors of Imperial Germany. The Warsaw Government regarded this as an insult to Poland and demanded not only the punishment of the perpetrators, but a formal apology from the City Government; and when Mr. Mervyn MacDonnell, the League's High Commissioner in Danzig, asked that the offending mail boxes be removed, the request was denied and a bitter press attack was launched charging the Commissioner with favoritism and incompetence and demanding his recall.

Danzig naturally looked to Geneva for support, and a situation arose in which it seemed probable that the League would be subjected to one of the severest tests in its history. The Danzig press and public believed that the mail-box affair was a first step on the part of the Poles to upset the provisions of the Versailles treaty guaranteeing Danzig's independence; Germany was wrought up; and on all hands there was apprehension lest some adventurous Polish General should seize the opportunity to make his name famous by capturing Danzig just as General Zeligowski once captured Vilna for Poland and as Gabriele d'Annunzio captured Fiume for Italy. The incident was closed when on Jan. 28 the City of Danzig apologized

to Poland and placed policemen at each of the letter boxes.

Rumania

THE signing of the Russo-Japanese treaty in January caused serious misgivings at Bucharest. It seemed not unreasonable to suppose that one result would be a stiffening of the Soviet attitude toward Rumania; and the Moscow press, indeed, frankly rejoiced in this prospect. The particular menace was an attempt by the Soviets to wrest Bessarabia from its Rumanian possessors. It is true that Rumanian sovereignty over the coveted territory rests upon international sanction. A treaty recognizing this sovereignty was signed in 1920 by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Thus far, however, this agreement has been ratified only by Great Britain and France. Italy has delayed and Japan has professed to be waiting on Italy. At Bucharest it was feared that Japan's new relation with Moscow would deter her from ratifying at all and that, indirectly at all events, the Soviet authorities would be encouraged by the new situation to undertake energetic measures toward the south. In these measures the Moldavian Soviet Republic was expected to play no small part.

The Senate on Jan. 28 ratified the extradition convention concluded last Summer with the United States. The agreement did not grant extradition for political offenses and, inasmuch as the Rumanian law provided no death penalty, a special clause was added stipulating that extradited persons, if found guilty, should not be condemned to death, although their offenses made them liable to the death penalty. The United States agreed not to exact the death penalty in the case of any person extradited from Rumania.

Yugoslavia

THE crusade of the Pashitch Government against the leaders of the Croatian Republican Peasants party and of other Opposition groups, inaugurated

with the arrest of M. Raditch on Jan. 5, went on with varying success throughout the succeeding month. Raditch himself remained in prison in Zagreb, whence he issued manifestoes attacking the Government for terrorism, and assuring his supporters that his "road of sorrow will be the road to the freeing of the Croat nation." With a view to influencing public feeling, the Government published an alleged "treaty" entered into by Raditch and a representative of the Hungarian Government in London in 1923, by which the Croat leader offered territory to Hungary in return for her support in the erection of an independent Croatian republic. The Budapest authorities, however, pronounced the instrument a forgery.

When brought to trial at Belgrade, on the charge of high treason, Raditch's imprisoned supporters were released on the ground that the evidence was insufficient; and the Court of Appeals sustained the action. Nevertheless, by order of Minister of the Interior Ribitchevitch, they were rearrested on Jan. 22, immediately after they had emerged from prison, on the ground that new evidence had been brought to light. This became the signal for a popular demonstration which the Government tried in vain to prevent. Crowds thronged the streets and threatened to storm the police barracks, and several casualties resulted before the gendarmes got the situation in hand.

Amid intense excitement throughout the country preparations began for the Parliamentary elections scheduled for Feb. 8. The policy of the Pashitch Government was, according to reports, to manage the elections with an iron hand, denying the Opposition the right to hold meetings and instructing the functionaries to see that the right people, in the proper numbers, appeared at the polls. The most drastic measures were taken, naturally, in Croatia and Slavonia and among the German and Hungarian minorities. The election was marked by the heaviest vote ever recorded in Yugoslavia; early returns indicated a Parliamentary victory for the Premier.

Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Assistant Professor of History, Yale University

A RED tribunal recently convened in the marble Hall of Nobles, where courtiers once assembled and where later the corpse of Lenin lay in state. Ivan Okladsky, revolutionist of forty years ago, was on trial for his life. In the course of his trial it developed that Okladsky had once been an arch-revolutionist, participating in many attempts to assassinate Czar Alexander II. He had been tortured into revealing the names of other plotters. Soon after he had been honored with noble rank and had subsequently been in the service of the Czarist police. When these facts were brought out the purpose of the Bolsheviks became clear. Okladsky had helped to delay the release of the Russian people from the oppression of the Czars. So dramatic a review of the past forty years could not but bolster the Communist Party now in power and divert much criticism from its rule. For three hours Okladsky listened to the indictment and then heard himself condemned to death. Later the sentence was commuted. Word went abroad that he would be given an opportunity to write his reminiscences to supplement the revolutionary history of the Russian people.

In the meantime the Bolshevik triumvirate continued to attack their fellow-revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, until recently Soviet Minister of War.

Perhaps Trotsky had hoped that his strength within the ranks of the Communist Party would appear so great that Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev would be unable to get the Central Executive Committee to sanction their warfare upon him. But by the time that the Central Committee convened on Jan. 17 Trotsky had perceived that his power, for a time at least, had disappeared. On account of his illness, he announced, he could not attend the meeting. Instead,

he wrote to declare that he had kept silent under attack to spare the Communist Party. But he denied that he had intended to belittle the work of Lenin. He admitted that "Trotskyism" had met its political end, and, facing the accusation that he had shown contempt for party discipline, he wrote: "I reply emphatically that I am ready for any task, in any post and under any control imposed by my party. It is useless to emphasize that, after recent discussions, our cause necessitates that I should be relieved of my post of President of the Revolutionary War Council."

The triumvirate, however, did not accept Trotsky's overtures. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party decided not only to remove him from the chairmanship, but from the War Council altogether, and warned him that he must submit to party discipline or he would be expelled from the Central Executive Committee and Political Bureau (the group of seven who control the Communist Party and through it the Soviet Government). The resolutions of the Executive Committee declared that Trotsky had disregarded the interests of the peasants and, in so doing, had undermined their confidence in the policy of the Soviet Government; that his opposition within the Communist Party encouraged the bourgeoisie of foreign countries to believe that he might be the man "to shatter the iron discipline of the proletarian dictatorship"; that even his letter to the Committee did not "in a single word acknowledge his mistakes, and in fact insisted upon an anti-Bolshevik platform, limiting himself only to formal loyalty."

On Jan. 28 the Rosta Agency, official news bureau of the Soviet Government, announced that Trotsky had left Moscow for Southern Russia. The following day the Executive Committee published

its decree dismissing him from his post as Commissar for the Army and Navy and appointing Frunze as his successor. Information reached Berlin at about the same time that 135 officers of the Red army, of whom 84 held high rank, 35 political commissars attached to the army and 18 commissars in high civil posts had been discharged from their duties because of friendship for Trotsky. Berlin also heard through Russian exiles that all Trotsky's private papers and notes had been confiscated by the Executive Committee before his departure.

The Soviet authorities were alarmed by the spread of discontent among the peasants. A conference which assembled in Moscow to plan for reconstruction of the Soviet provincial organization closed its deliberations on Jan. 12 with a resolution that there must be elections to rural soviets and that individuals not on the Communist list must be admitted, if proposed by the peasants, "provided always that such candidates do not clash with the Soviet Government's general policy." Speaking before the Communist Party Conference in the district of Moscow at the end of January, Stalin demanded that serious attention be given to the attitude of the peasantry:

Officials coming to Moscow to report to the Government on the situation in the country usually try to show that everything is going well in their administrative districts. Such reports often are misleading, as we know that there is not, and there cannot be, "happiness," and there exists much deficiency which should be brought to light without fear of criticism. The present situation demands that we allow the non-party section of the peasantry and workmen to criticize us and our work, or else they will resort to criticism by means of a rising.

Zinoviev was another to see danger in the unrest among the peasantry. In a speech at Moscow on Feb. 8 he admitted the possibility of an uprising, but opposed the idea of extending the political power of the peasants; he urged caution and careful action.

Pravda, official Communist press in Moscow, printed reports obtained from

local police, which showed that some peasants in the Stavropol district, made desperate by hunger, had set fire to their homes, burning themselves and their families to death. At a village on the Volga River nineteen adults and twenty-three children in one building perished from hunger.

Even more significant than Stalin's declaration was the announcement made on Feb. 1 before the Congress of the Soviets of Northern Caucasia by Rykov, Chief Commissar of the Soviet Union and nominal successor to Lenin. The Government at Moscow, he said, would grant amnesty to the peasantry of the Northern Caucasus who had fought against the Soviet on the side of Denikin, Kaledin and Wrangel in the Caucasus and the Crimea. Rykov further declared that election rights would be restored to all who had been deprived of them in the last seven years, that certain classes of workmen and peasants now confined in prison would be released, and that the outstanding agricultural taxes upon the peasantry of Northern Caucasia would be annulled. Such an amnesty, it was said, would affect a great part of the Caucasian population, as the armies of Denikin and Wrangel were recruited chiefly among the Cossacks, who had entirely opposed the Soviet Government. Discussing international relations, Rykov said he hoped for early establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, which event, he added, would be of great importance and value to Russia.

To stimulate production in Soviet industry, the Communist authorities decided during the past month to introduce measures which are inconsistent with doctrines previously maintained. Among these was the principle of piece-work, which would remove all limits upon maximum production and, in consequence, upon wages. The Currency Department of the Soviet Government decided to abolish the existing prohibition against the negotiation of commercial arrangements in foreign currencies and to allow both private persons and enterprises to conclude such agreements.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party held a special meeting to devise ways of paying wages in arrears, which are a great obstacle to increased output by Russian industry.

The relations of Soviet Russia with France entered an interesting phase. The French Ambassador, M. Herbette, arrived in Moscow on Jan. 11. To the Soviet press he said: "The question of debts will probably prove to be the most difficult because there are thou-

sands of French people who invested their scanty savings in Russian bonds and who are now looking forward to recover them." It soon became evident that the Soviet authorities were giving very serious consideration to the problem of Russia's financial obligations to foreign powers. They summoned Krasin, Rakovsky and Krestinsky—Soviet envoys to France, England and Germany respectively—to a conference at Moscow.

Nations of Northern Europe

Finland

ON Jan. 15 and 16 occurred the election of the Electoral College of 300 which is to choose the next President of Finland. The results were as follows:

Swedish People's Party.....	35
National Coalition Party.....	68
(These two parties constitute "The Right" in the Finnish Parliament.)	
National Progressive Party.....	33
The Farmers' League.....	69
(These parties are "The Centre.")	
The Socialists	79
The Communists	16
("The Left.")	

A simple majority is required in the Electoral College by the Constitution. Only the National Progressive Party has made a nomination, namely, Risto Ryti, a former Minister of Finance, now Governor of the Bank of Finland.

The election of Presidential electors showed a marked increase of Bourgeois or Conservative strength in comparison with recent Parliamentary elections. The proportion of Socialists decreased from 29 to 26 per cent.; of Communists from 9 to 5 per cent.

Another conference of the Baltic States opened on Jan. 16 at Helsingfors. The Foreign Ministers of Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Poland came together for further discussion of obligatory arbitration and political cooperation.

Esthonia

SOVIET Russia withdrew the envoy to Esthonia who had been present during the Communist uprising of December. The Esthonian Government continued to hunt down those who had taken part. A civil organization for self-defense similar to that in Finland was established. A subscription for the support of the families of those who were killed by the Communists reached the sum of 8,000,000 Esthonian marks (372 marks to the dollar). The patriotism of the Esthonian people was deeply stirred by the menace of danger. The Lithuanian Minister to Esthonia showed the sympathies of his own country by subscribing 1,000,000 Esthonian marks for the benefit of those who had suffered in the rising.

On Jan. 11 J. Avenol, Under Secretary General of the League of Nations, accompanied by economic experts, arrived at the invitation of the Government to examine the finances of Esthonia.

Lithuania

GENERAL ZENKAVICIUS, Chief of the Lithuanian Higher Officers' Corps, returned from a two months' course for Generals in Paris and from a special mission to Belgium, where several other Lithuanian army officers are studying military science.

Other Nations of Europe

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

Professor of European History, Johns Hopkins University

Spain

THE prosecution of Blasco Ibáñez continued to occupy much space in the public prints throughout the month of January and for a moment threatened to become an international question. He was brought into a French court in Paris under an almost forgotten law, and the Herriot Ministry was subjected to interpellation, particularly from the radical group. The French Government was finally relieved from embarrassment when King Alfonso ordered the withdrawal of the case. In the meantime the château and possessions of Ibáñez in Spain were confiscated as security for the costs and fines of the Spanish trial, and in the midst of the excitement his invalid wife died. Ibáñez displayed no signs of repentance, but charged the authorities with the death of his wife, and in an open letter to Premier Herriot asserted that King Alfonso did not withdraw the prosecution because of liberality, but because he was afraid of French public opinion.

The celebration of the King's birthday on Jan. 23 gave occasion for a great display of public sentiment. The Mayors of towns from forty-nine districts visited Madrid with escorts and regalia and were reviewed in a procession two miles long. The King was made an honorary citizen of Madrid and every one of these towns and presented with sympathetic and laudatory addresses. The city was crowded with visitors, and the picturesque pageantry with the enthusiasm of the people made it a day of festivity long to be remembered. The official character of much of the demonstration was obvious.

The opening of the year witnessed important changes in the situation in Morocco. Activity in the eastern section of the Spanish zone, of which Mellila is

the coastal stronghold, began with vigorous movements of the native tribes, reinforced by Moorish troops from the western front, released after the retreat of the Spanish behind the line at Tetuan, where it was only necessary to maintain a screen against the forces of de Rivera. The Spanish commanders resisted with artillery and airplanes, but without marked result. Conditions were rendered more delicate by the fears of the friendly native auxiliaries that the Riff tribes would take their revenge upon them whenever the Spanish retired. The most serious calamity occurred in the last week of January, when the great chief Raisuli, the main reliance of Spain, was captured in his stronghold at Tazrut. This meant the loss of the most influential Prince in that region, whose power was backed by immense accumulated wealth, and whose dominion extended up to and behind the new Spanish line of defense. The forces thus came to be at the disposal of Abd-el-Krim, and the native assistance to the Spaniards was reduced to insignificance. Reliable news of this event was for a time difficult to obtain and conflicting rumors were afloat as to Raisuli's surrender, but it became evident that he was captured only after serious resistance, and not through connivance, bringing an aged sick man to the close of a most picturesque career. Always a prophet chieftain of absolute power and at times a figure of international concern, it seemed that only the infirmities of age could lay him low.

General de Rivera returned to Spain in January and was received with acclaim during the festivities of the royal birthday. Questioned by newspaper men in regard to the calamity in Africa he only replied laconically, "Raisuli has been worsted in conflict with the Riffians."

A direct cable between Spain and the

United States was inaugurated on Jan. 19 by exchange of greetings between King Alfonso and President Coolidge. The line passes by way of the Azores, touching at Malaga, and is to be continued to Anzio, in Italy, where work on the final section has begun.

Portugal

THE Portuguese colony of Angola, on the west coast of Africa, touches on the south the territory formerly controlled by Germany and now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa. The frontier has never been delimited and there were formerly conflicting claims between the Germans and the Portuguese. The region has remained in its native condition with very slight European control. Some time ago proposals were made by the Union Government that the boundary be delimited by a joint commission. In this connection the Portuguese Minister of the Colonies in January announced that no alienation of territory by any delimitation of the southern frontier of Angola would be allowed. This did not interfere with the financial relations of the two countries, for a few days later the Portuguese Ministry of Finance authorized the Ministry of the Colonies to pay the sum of £150,000 owing by Angola on account of the loan granted by Great Britain under the exports credit scheme.

The unemployment question in Portugal became a matter of national importance. In Parliament, on Jan. 12, the Minister of Agriculture introduced a measure for the expropriation of uncultivated land and dealing with absentee landlords. Two thousand unemployed marched to the House and a deputation saw the Prime Minister, who promised to adopt measures to relieve the situation.

After postponement from the original date fixed Lisbon entered upon a week of historical festivities on Jan. 25. The ceremonies were commemorative of the

four hundredth anniversary of the death of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator who discovered the overseas route to India.

Dispatches on Jan. 24 reported that a powerful bomb had been exploded at the entrance of the municipal chamber, causing great damage and injuring two persons.

Holland

THE HAGUE correspondent of The London Times recently contributed a brief but judicious historical review of political life in the Netherlands which formed a useful introduction to an understanding of movements in that country. For long periods of time party divergences were based on differences of religious principles. About the beginning of this century the Liberals seemed to be gaining the upper hand; but a strong reaction took place and the Calvinists, under the strong-minded leadership of the late Dr. Kuyper, came into power. His personality gave the party great political influence, but they represented, in reality, a minority of the people and were under the necessity of cooperating with the Roman Catholics. The latter became the strongest political party in Holland, the latest distribution of the hundred members of the Second Chamber being as follows: Thirty-two Roman Catholics, sixteen Calvinists, eleven Moderate Protestants, twenty Socialists, ten Liberals, five Radicals, two Communists, two Agrarians and two Independents. In the First Chamber the two religious groups were still more strongly represented.

The non-religious parties are still more divided among themselves. The Liberals, like the advanced Protestants, are moderate. When they caused the Naval bill to be rejected about a year ago they allowed themselves to be influenced chiefly by considerations of economy, for they do not urge disarmament, like the Radicals and Socialists. The non-religious parties could only secure a Parliamentary majority if they could combine with the "Democratic"

elements among the Roman Catholics. This, however, could only be brought about by the disruption of the Catholic Party. The tendency of the majority in Holland has always been toward moderation; it is a country of political stability. Hence the reaction against communism, represented by the Fascist movement, has made practically no headway in Holland. The elections, which are to take place in the Summer of 1925, are, of course, the subject of much speculation. The Socialists and Radicals are strenuously advocating a disarmament policy in the belief that it will appeal to the masses of the people; Government officials are chafing under the reduction of their salaries; and there are indications that some part of the Catholic vote may be transferred to the Socialists.

The strong man of the present Cabinet is the Calvinist Minister of Finance, who, upon the recasting of the Government in 1922, was put at the head of the Treasury on the understanding that he should balance the budget. In this task M. Colijn was largely successful in spite of opposition, and in spite of the necessity of fresh taxation by way of excise and import duties. Prosperity and the par value of the florin favored his Administration.

On Jan. 23 there was signed by Secretary Hughes and the Minister of the Netherlands, Jonkheer de Graeff, a special agreement concerning the Island of Palmas, pursuant to the arbitration conventions of 1908 and 1924. This agreement provides for the appointment of an arbitrator whose sole duty shall be to determine from memoranda submitted by the United States and the Netherlands whether the island forms a part of the territory of the one or the other. The Island of Palmas (or Miangas) is approximately two miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, situated about fifty miles southeast of Cape San Augustine, Island of Mindanao of the Philippine Archipelago, and has approximately 700 inhabitants. The agreement is to be sent to the Senate and is subject to ratification by both parties.

Norway

PUBLIC announcement was made in January that the Norwegian Government was considering legislation to prevent the participation of Norwegian vessels in the rum-running trade to the United States. The Norwegian Foreign Office, through its legation in Washington, obtained the names of ten Norwegian vessels identified as among those on "Rum Row," and sent it to the Ship Owners' Association and Ministry of Justice for further action. The Ship Owners' Association already had cautioned masters against rum-running, warning that it would refuse assistance to vessels running afoul of the American laws, and the Government also issued a warning that vessels caught in American waters would not receive the support of Norway's official representatives.

The general strike threatened by the Communists for Jan. 1, because some of their party members of the Storting had been sent to jail and amnesty refused, came to nothing. A compromise was reached by which the arrested members of Parliament received a reprieve from the King, which enabled them to attend the session of the Storting. They took their seats on Jan. 17, but they were to serve the remainder of their sentences after the session ended.

A new movement in the direction of good government was reported from Norway. About 700 men and women throughout the country, of all ranks of society, including Dr. Nansen, M. Michelsen, who was Prime Minister in 1905, and the President of the Oslo (Christiania) Town Council, issued a manifesto to the Norwegian Nation, urging the formation of "A National League" to combat revolutionary activity and to promote the solidarity of the town and rural populations, and the political and social development of the nation on a national democratic basis. The manifesto insisted on the urgent necessity of the cooperation of all

classes in maintaining authority in the community and defending it against any policy of violence.

A group of members of the Norwegian Parliament officially nominated Carl Lindhagen, Mayor of Stockholm, as candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. Mayor Lindhagen, for many years a member of the Swedish Riksdag, gained a reputation as one of the most active workers for international peace, to promote which he introduced a large number of bills in the Riksdag and wrote several books. He was also the pioneer leader of the votes-for-women movement in Sweden. Despite this the Stockholm International Women's Association and the Stockholm Peace Union were reported to have nominated Jane Addams of Chicago and the German pacifist Professor Quidde for the Peace Prize. The Norwegian Peace Society recommended that the prize be awarded to the person who could claim the greatest credit for the Geneva protocol of security and disarmament, adopted by the League of Nations last Autumn and since awaiting definite approval by the powers.

Sweden

HJALMAR BRANTING was obliged in January to resign his position as Prime Minister of Sweden on account of ill health. Although unable to resume active work for some time, he remained in the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio. His successor was Rickard Sandler, formerly Minister of Commerce. A change also in the Ministry of Finance was required when F. V. Thorsson was taken violently ill and obliged to submit to a major operation. He was succeeded by E. J. Wigfors. The political color of the Cabinet remained unchanged, all of the members being Social Democrats.

Reports of the Royal Board of Trade and the Foreign Office Department of Commerce indicated that the economic outlook in Sweden was good. Soundness and stability of commercial condi-

tions, yet a lack of enterprise owing to the scant margin of profit in the leading industries and a general attitude of watchful waiting, was the official diagnosis. The national budget for 1923-24 showed a surplus of \$11,041,000, the larger part of this excess having come from the customs and the various State enterprises, such as the railways. The estimate for the fiscal year 1925-26 reached a total of \$191,000,000, an increase in expenditures just about equal to the recent surplus; consequently no reduction of taxation was contemplated. The Minister of Finance submitted also a recommendation concerning women employed by the State, placing them on a level with men in regard to salaries, on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Unrest in labor circles was reported as abating, the textile and machine shop lockouts having been called off and new wage agreements having been reached without upward revision. Considerable activity in the shipyards produced vessels of marked distinction in the motor-driven class, including an ore carrier of 20,000 tons, and a passenger liner of 17,000 tons destined for the New York service. A new floating dock with a lifting capacity of 18,000 tons, the largest in Scandinavia, was completed at Gothenburg. Hence the new construction and the new improvements in motive power were leading to new enterprises and to the demand for Government loans to shipping concerns.

An important development in the cultural relations of Sweden and the United States was the announcement of twenty new scholarships of \$1,500 each to enable Swedish students to pursue studies and industrial research in the United States. The funds were provided through the generosity of American individuals and business concerns with the cooperation of the American-Scandinavian Foundation in New York. The administration was placed in the hands of the Sweden-America Foundation in Stockholm.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

GR^{EAT} excitement was caused in Greece by the expulsion from Turkey on Jan. 30 of the Greek Patriarch, Constantine VI. The Treaty of Lausanne provided that the Patriarchate of Constantinople should remain in existence. It also provided that all persons of Greek language and Greek Orthodox Christian faith who were residents of Constantinople before 1918 should be allowed to reside in that city. All other Greeks were to be allowed no residence in Turkey.

On Nov. 17, 1924, the Ecumenical Patriarch, Gregory VII., died. Early in December the Holy Synod, assembled at Constantinople, elected Constantine, who was a native of Triglia and who had come to Constantinople after 1918. The Turkish Government at once served notice that he belonged to the exchangeable class and could not be permitted to reside permanently in the city. The question was referred to the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations. This commission after due deliberation voted, it is said, by 6 against 4, that Mgr. Constantine was exchangeable. In pursuance of this decision the Turkish Government requested him to depart on Jan. 30 and carried out the order immediately after notification. The Greek Government promptly sent a note to the Turkish Government, declaring that the expulsion of the Patriarch was a hostile act against Greece, but stating that Greece in order to prove that her spirit was conciliatory proposed that the question be submitted to the Court of International Justice at The Hague. President Mustapha Kemal Pasha was absent from Angora on a tour of the provinces. He returned at once to the capital. Meanwhile the Council of Ministers examined the question. The Foreign Minister, declar-

ing that the Turkish Government intended to expel every one who was subject to the exchange convention; contended that the Greeks should have elected a Patriarch who was exempt from its provisions. The official answer to the Greek note declared that the Treaty of Lausanne had been violated in no respect and refused to carry the question to the Hague Court.

The Turkish Foreign Office canceled the appropriation for a Commissioner at Constantinople who should represent it before the different embassies and legations. The implication was that foreign representatives accredited to Turkey must henceforth either reside in Angora or maintain liaison officers there.

Fethi Bey's new Cabinet, as presented to the Assembly on Nov. 22, was constituted as follows:

FETHI BEY—President and Minister of Public Defense.

HASSAN FEHMI—Agriculture.

SHUKRI QUAYA BEY—Foreign Affairs.

REJEB BEY—Interior and Reconstruction.

MUSTAFA ABD UL-KHALIQ BEY—Finance.

FEIZI BEY—Public Works.

MAZHAR BEY—Public Health.

ALI JENANI BEY—Commerce.

MAHMUD ESAD BEY—Justice.

SERRAJ-OGHLU SHUKRI BEY—Public Instruction.

Shortly before the formation of the new Cabinet Suleiman Sami Bey had been appointed Governor or Prefect of Constantinople. He was later replaced by Emin Bey, after whose appointment a serious controversy developed in the Cabinet. The majority favored making the office elective, according to the procedure followed in other prefectures. So much feeling developed that Rejeb Bey, who opposed election, resigned on Jan. 5, and was replaced by Jemil Bey, Secretary General of the Popular Party.

The neutral commission named by the Council of the League of Nations to inquire into the Anglo-Turkish controversy over the frontiers of Iraq met at Geneva in the middle of November. It was composed of a Belgian, Colonel Paulis; a Hungarian, Count Paul Teleki, and a Swede, Count Wirsén. The commission proceeded to London, to obtain the point of view of the British Government, and then visited Constantinople and Angora.

The Council of the Ottoman Public Debt presented in December its awards on the question of the distribution of the pre-war debts of the Ottoman Empire. They took into consideration: (1) the total of the debts of Turkey before Oct. 17, 1912, when the first Balkan War was declared, and also those contracted between that date and Nov. 1, 1914; (2) the area of Turkey before the Balkan Wars, after the Balkan Wars, and after the Great War; and (3) the revenues from the detached territories in relation to the general revenue of the whole former empire. The arrangement at the close of the Balkan Wars contemplated the division of the debt between seven States, and that at the close of the Great War between no fewer than fourteen States; 62.13 per cent. of the entire debt being left against Turkey, and the balance distributed to the remaining States in the following order: Syria and Lebanon, Greece, Iraq, Serbia, Palestine, Mosul, Hedjaz, Bulgaria, Albania, Yemen, Transjordan, Italy, and Nejd and Asir. The debt was distributed according to determined percentages, to be paid in twenty annual instalments, totaling for each year about \$42,000,000.

The German School at Constantinople was reopened on Nov. 16, with greatly reduced numbers, after a suspension of six years.

The budget proposals for the Turkish financial year 1341, as circulated to the deputies at Angora, provided for an expenditure of \$89,000,000, against expected revenues of \$80,000,000. Of this 20 per cent. was allotted for national defense, 11 per cent. for public

works, 7 per cent. for police and 5 per cent. for public instruction.

The Assembly and the Council of Ministers have been busy beyond precedent with laws and ordinances. The Assembly forbade the public sale of a strong drink called raki. All Government officials, including members of Parliament, teachers, soldiers and policemen, were ordered to wear clothing and footwear that had been manufactured in Turkey. All male citizens between the ages of 18 and 60 were to be required to do from six to twelve days' work on the roads every year. It was decided to sell the smaller imperial palaces, and to offer for sale nationally owned farms, tenants in possession to have a first right to buy on easy terms. The Council of Ministers proposed to exempt from customs duties all motor trucks imported into Turkey.

Maximum attendance was reported at Robert College and the American University of Beirut. The former institution enrolled 648 students and the latter 1,215. The Constantinople Women's College had registered 389 young women.

Egypt

EGYPT continued to be greatly excited over the coming elections. All parties professed to be strongly nationalist and were fiercely active in the support of complete Egyptian independence. Comments in the British press showed clearly that British sympathy was strongly with Ziwar Pasha and against Zaghlul Pasha and the Wafd Party. The attempt of the Government to suppress all intervention of students in political affairs led to defiant refusals and was far from being completely effective. It was finally decided that the elections be held on March 12. There were 534 candidates to fill the 211 seats, ten of which were unopposed and six of whom were members of the Zaghlul Party. Of the candidates competing for the 201 remaining seats, 207 were Zaghlulists, 33 Nationals and 294 Constitutional Liberals and In-

dependents. Interest in the election was especially acute, because of the expectation that the result would determine the policy of the Egyptian Government and its attitude toward the British Government on the question of the Sudan and the irrigation question and would settle all other reserve points that were left open when the independence of Egypt was declared in 1922. Prime Minister Ziwar Pasha on Jan. 26 transmitted to Lord Allenby a protest against the proposal to create a separate Sudanese defense force. The Premier said, "The ties uniting Egypt and the Sudan cannot be broken." Four days later the ex-Premier, Zaghlul Pasha, telegraphed the British Foreign Office along the same lines, with more general complaints against steps separating the Sudan from Egypt and asserting that Britain was moved by no other reason than that the Sudan produced cotton for Lancashire. A few days previously King Fuad had issued a decree creating an Army Council, consisting of the Minister of War, the Under Secretary, the Sirdar, the Inspector General of the Troops, the Director General of the Frontier District and four retired Egyptian officers. The fact that the composition and duties of the new Council resembled closely those of the British Army Council suggested the origin of the plan. Egyptians, however, would always be in the majority in the new Council.

Abdel Rahman Bey Fahmy, who had been arrested after the murder of Sir Lee Stack, was released on Jan. 11 owing to the lack of sufficient evidence against him. Three weeks later a number of new arrests were made in the same connection. Among those arrested were Mahmud Ismail, an official in the Ministry of Pious Foundations, and Dr. Shafik Mansur, member of the late Chamber of Deputies, who was arrested once before but released for lack of evidence.

Credits were authorized to increase the Egyptian Army by two battalions of infantry and one squadron of cavalry. The Minister of War was in-

structed to report on a proposal for creating an air force as soon as possible. The expenditure immediately of \$9,500,000 for the purchase of railway material was approved.

Howard Carter, after unpacking at the Cairo Museum certain cases sent last year from the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen, proceeded to Luxor, and on Jan. 25 reopened the tomb. He found that no harm had befallen to the principal contents. Other remarkable discoveries were made in the neighborhood of the great pyramids and near Sakkara.

Arabia

IT appeared from scanty reports that King Ali, entrenched in Jeddah, received some munitions and troops from his brothers in Transjordan and Iraq, and was supplied with three British built airplanes. He then apparently made an unsuccessful attempt to advance upon Mecca, after which the troops of Ibn Saud, also reinforced, advanced upon Jeddah, reaching the outer defenses on Jan. 23.

Late in October Sultan Ibn Saud called together at Riyadh, his capital, an assembly of about 300 generals and sheiks from his territories and El-Hasa, together with three Syrians, two Egyptians and five Iraqians. The Sultan set forth his views as regards the control of the Holy Cities and the security of pilgrims. He attacked vigorously King Hussein and his family, and affirmed that he would not make peace until the entire Sherifian family had left the Hedjaz. He announced that he was proceeding to call a congress of Moslems at Mecca to decide upon the administration of the Hedjaz.

In mid-November, with a following of 400 and an armed guard of 1,000, Ibn Saud left the capital on pilgrimage to Mecca.

Syria

THE Commission on Mandates of the League of Nations heard M. de Caix, Secretary of the French High Commissioner. He explained the civil

and military administration, the courts of justice, education, the political divisions of Syria, the powers of the High Commissioner, who controls the troops but does not command them, the land system, public works, finances, agriculture and industry. He affirmed in general that the situation in the Lebanon and Syria under the French mandate was satisfactory. The Commission on Mandates took the position that it was charged only with applying the terms of the mandates as laid down by the Council of the League of Nations. The question of whether these terms conformed to Article XXII. of the League of Nations, it considered to be beyond its competence. It expressed its satisfaction at the appearance before it of administrators personally responsible in the territories concerned.

General Weygand left Beirut on Dec. 7, and the same day issued an ordinance which organized the new Syrian State out of the two former States of Aleppo and Damascus. Alexandretta and its district were set off from the former State of Aleppo and given a sort of autonomy.

Iraq

IN view of the approaching elections the Cabinet issued in the last days of December a statement of its policy. The Government was eager to "maintain all the rights the country has won," looking as quickly as possible toward complete independence. These aims were to be realized in cooperation with England, but the treaty must be amended as requested by the Constituent Assembly. The religious beliefs and traditions of Islam were to be upheld. Gambling and drunkenness were to be put down with a heavy hand. The Government desired to encourage athletic sports, and public health was to be promoted and better housing conditions obtained. The Government desired a new coinage, a national bank and the extension of railways. Education was to be extended until every child received elementary training, while schools

of medicine and agriculture were to be established. The laws will be codified, and the irrigation system will be extended greatly.

A Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established, the portfolio being held at present by the Prime Minister.

The census which the Government deemed necessary in order to provide a proper basis for elections proceeded under difficulties. The British census, or rather estimate, of 1920 estimated the inhabitants of Iraq at 2,849,282, distributed as follows: Shiite Moslems, 1,494,045; Sunnite Moslems, 1,146,685; Jews, 87,488; Christians, 78,792; others, 42,302. The census takers found that in the towns the tendency was to conceal and reduce the number of inhabitants. It was feared that a poll tax would be imposed or military service demanded. In the country, on the contrary, the sheiks were interested in magnifying the number of their subjects. According to press reports, 10,000,000 voters registered, more than three times the entire population of the country; on this account the election was deferred.

Persia

RIZA KHAN, the Prime Minister, took advantage of a time of comparative quiet to go on a pilgrimage to Kerbela and the other holy cities of the Shiites in Iraq. It was hoped that better political and commercial relations could be established between the two countries as a result of the visit. Upon his return to Teheran he was greeted with great enthusiasm. A few days after his return he ordered the arrest of General Amir Ikhtedar, the Minister of the Interior. He was stated to have ordered the arrest also of thirty other notables, including another Minister. The ostensible reason was that these men were working against Persia and in the Russian interest.

The Persian Parliament sanctioned the exemption from customs duties for a period of ten years of agricultural and industrial machinery accessories, with certain exceptions.

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT

Professor of History, Stanford University

IN January the centre of military activity shifted again from North China to the Yangtze. Marshal Lu Yung-hsiang, supported by northern soldiers and especially by battalions of "white" Russians, had been commissioned to drive Marshal Chi Hsieh-yuan out of his province, Kiangsu. At first the operations were entirely successful and Chi fled to the protection of the foreign settlement at Shanghai. The Shanghai region, including the much desired arsenal, was at that time under the control of General Chang Yung-ming. He had been appointed by the former Peking Government and should have been an ally of Marshall Chi against the oncoming forces of the new Peking régime but he had deemed it best to throw in his lot with the de facto power at Peking. Apparently the plans of Peking had been easily achieved.

After ten days of quiet intrigue, however, Marshal Chi was able to reorganize many of his disbanded soldiers and to form an alliance with Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, who for the past few months had been in military control of the neighboring province of Chekiang. Suddenly and without warning the allies struck their blow and General Chang's forces crumbled before them. The Shanghai arsenal fell into their hands and General Chang and his soldiers fled to the protection of the foreign concessions.

The renewal of hostilities around Shanghai led to the gathering again of a fleet of foreign warships and the landing of marines to guard the foreign settlement. Ten destroyers were hurried over from Manila to strengthen the force under Admiral McVey. There was always danger lest the defeated force in the approaching battles should get out of hand and attempt to loot the foreign settlement as indiscriminately

as the Chinese city, while foreign merchant ships were in danger from Chinese batteries. During the lull some 10,000 of the interned troops of General Chang were evacuated by sea to Tsingtao.

The success of Marshal Chi was short-lived. On Jan. 10 Marshal Lu entered Nanking with the Tenth Division, and six days later his Russian battalions landed at Chinkiang and began to advance along the railway toward Shanghai. Chi's forces retired before them. Soon it was rumored that his ally, Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, had deserted him. After a final defeat at Wusih, about eighty miles west of Shanghai, Marshal Chi fled to that port, and with his family embarked for Japan on Jan. 28, just as his conqueror had done when the sides were reversed three months before. The Province of Kiangsu, including the capital, Nanking, and the region around Shanghai was now in control of a Peking representative. The political future of Marshal Sun in Chekiang now became a subject for speculation, for there were signs that he had made his peace with Peking.

While the Shanghai arsenal was in the hands of Marshal Chi, the Peking Cabinet announced that it had decided to abolish this depot, to forbid the stationing of troops near Shanghai and to do away with the special administrative area which had so often been the bone of contention between rival provincial Governors. These measures had frequently been advocated by foreign interests in order to eliminate the principal causes for frequent fighting near Shanghai.

Ever since Western nations secured treaty rights in China a very large share of their diplomatic relations with that Government had been concerned

with the protection of Christian missionaries, their converts and their property. In December, 1924, twenty-five American missionaries presented a petition to the legation in Peking declaring that their work in China was that of "messengers of the gospel of brotherhood and peace," and desiring that no form of military pressure be used to protect them or their property, and that, in the event of their capture or death by bandits, no money be paid for their release nor indemnity demanded. The American Legation announced that no exception could or would be made to the customary procedure in such emergencies.

While delegates to the Second International Opium Conference at Geneva tried to find some acceptable way of curbing this great evil, Chinese militarists continued to fill their war chests and their private purses with the profits of this illegal traffic. From Fukien Province, where conditions had been most unsatisfactory, it was reported that 200 Christian Chinese farmers were beheaded because of their refusal to grow the poppy.

The condition of Dr. Sun Yat-sen continued to be serious, following an operation at the American Hospital in Peking. Although his death was reported on Jan. 27, later reports indicated that he was showing improvement.

Japan

WITHOUT doubt the outstanding event of the month in Japanese affairs was the signing, at Peking, of an agreement with Soviet Russia providing for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. At different times negotiations toward this end had been attempted in Manchuria, in Tokio and in Peking during the past three years. The Russo-Chinese convention of May, 1924, and the creation of the Kato Cabinet in Japan forecast a more conciliatory attitude on the part of Japan, while the failure of the British treaty may have convinced Moscow of the desirability of coming to terms with her Far Eastern neighbor.

The treaty was finally signed early on the morning of Jan. 21 and dated Jan. 20. The text of the treaty was not to be given out until it had been ratified by the two Governments, but it was said to contain the recognition of Russia by Japan, provision for the exploitation of mineral, forest and other natural resources in Soviet territory by Japanese concessionnaires on a royalty basis, and an expression of regret for the massacre of Japanese subjects at Nikolaievsk in 1920. The discussion of a treaty of commerce and navigation was to commence immediately, and in the meantime intercourse was to be based on reciprocal rights and those of the most favored nation. Northern Sakhalin was to be evacuated by the Japanese by May, 1925. Expressions of satisfaction at the conclusion of these long and difficult negotiations were uttered both in Tokio and Moscow.

In the Imperial Diet, which reconvened on Jan. 14, the members of the Kato Ministry were subject to the usual attacks by political opponents. Criticisms of that Ministry's weak policy in dealing with the American immigration question were answered by Foreign Minister Shidehara to the effect that an American law cannot be altered by Executive action and that "continuance of discussions between the two Governments at this time will not in itself serve any useful purpose. What is really important in the final analysis of the question is that the American people shall have come to a correct understanding of our people and of our points of view." Other partisans interpellated the Government on the British plans for a naval base at Singapore and on the proposed American naval manoeuvres in the Pacific. In regard to the latter point, Baron Shidehara frankly replied that "the American naval manoeuvres are not our business, and I desire to refrain from commenting on this question. The manoeuvres do not violate the spirit of the four-power treaty."

The readiness of Japan to take part

in a second disarmament conference if called by the United States was expressed by the Ministers of War and Navy in the lower house.

The domestic program of the Ministry, as outlined by Premier Kato, included a bill for universal suffrage, the reform of the House of Peers and the curtailment of expenditure.

Three events served to lessen the ill-will occasioned by the late American Immigration act. It was announced that John D. Rockefeller Jr. had contributed 4,000,000 yen (about \$1,600,000) toward the rebuilding of the library of the Imperial University in Tokio, destroyed in the great catastrophe of 1923, and the purchase of

books. This gift was made without condition as to its use. A bill appropriating \$1,250,000 for land and buildings for the American Embassy at Tokio passed the House of Representatives on Jan. 21. The Japanese training squadron received a most hospitable welcome when it visited San Francisco between Jan. 23 and 30.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Premier Kato at his home in Tokio on Jan. 10. Two arrests were made.

Renewal of rioting between villagers and members of the Suiheisha or "out-cast" group was reported from Serata, Gumma Prefecture, where several were killed and more than 100 injured.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University

THE Opium Conference, which late in December adjourned for the Christmas vacation with so sad an outlook, reconvened at Geneva on Jan. 19. Stephen G. Porter, head of the American delegation, had on Jan. 15 received from Mr. Sugimura of the Japanese delegation a pledge of Japanese support for the American proposal which contemplated the entire discontinuance of opium smoking within ten years. The next day Mr. Porter declared that "the Americans will want to hear what the new delegations proposed before advancing the views of the United States further. But they will not sacrifice their stand if it wrecks the conference."

The likelihood that this alternative might be presented was increased by the appearance, the day before the new session opened, of a sharp divergence of views between the Americans and the British on the Far Eastern phase of the general opium problem. Lord Cecil of Chelwood, the chief British delegate, declared that he thought that the American

proposals concerning the checking of opium smoking were impossible of fulfillment and therefore should not find a place in the convention which the conference hoped to elaborate. The British idea was to strike at the production of opium in China, which was alleged to reach 15,000 (a figure always disputed by the Chinese delegation) tons annually, as against a total annual output in India of 1,000 tons. Mr. Porter, secure in the assurance of the support of Japan, China and a number of smaller countries, however, faced the coming conference with hope; but the very beginning of the first session was marked by a clear alignment of America against Great Britain. "Quite unacceptable," were the words with which Mr. Porter greeted the British proposal submitted on Jan. 19. The United States wanted opium smoking stopped entirely within ten years. Great Britain, through Lord Cecil, announced that she stood ready to stop it in fifteen years, but upon condition that the fifteen years should begin to run only from the time

when China should have suppressed her growth of opium to that stage "which will remove the danger of opium smuggling from China into other Far Eastern territories." The American position was that the danger of crime generally might be always said to exist; hence, the likelihood that the danger of the crime of smuggling might continue to exist indefinitely, thus postponing forever the inauguration of the British suggestion.

Viscount Cecil on Jan. 20 argued that the conference was not authorized to take up the problem of opium smoking, which belonged to the agenda of the earlier conference, which was confined to countries having Far Eastern possessions. He somewhat mysteriously hinted that he would next day present other observations which courtesy to the conference forbade him to disclose then. Without waiting for this disclosure, the delegation of the Irish Free State announced themselves as on the side of the American plan. The many thrills of the day were increased by the declaration of Dr. Alfred Sze of China, who warned the "opium bloc" that China now had awakened, and that if the powers failed to subordinate their financial interests to ethical interests and did not cease to exploit the Chinese and the Far East they would be held responsible not only by the world as a whole, but in particular by 400,000,000 Chinese. Dr. Sze predicted that if the powers refused to act the Orient would be swept by a tidal wave of moral indignation which would have repercussions on the economic and political structure of the entire world.

In this session also Viscount Cecil withdrew the charge, incautiously made the previous day, that the American people use more opium and narcotic drugs than the people of India, which Mr. Porter had branded "a vile slander upon the people of the United States."

For several days there were dramatic scenes in abundance, but substantial progress toward harmony and agreement was painfully lacking. There were threats of adjournment, threats of

secession, new plans of compromise, but no agreement. On Jan. 23 Geneva dispatches announced "the crisis," with Porter and Cecil still at odds. On Jan. 24 came the report: "Opium Conference Again in Accord."

In regard to the next point, by Jan. 27 accord had brought the conference to the point of considering the composition of a body "to consist of seven members of the League of Nations Council plus the United States" whose duty it should be to appoint a "Central Control Board" to supervise international traffic in narcotic drugs. Turning to the question of smoking opium on Feb. 2, Mr. Porter expressed keen disappointment at the small progress made.

Throughout the day, on Feb. 5, and during the early hours of Feb. 6, the conference continued to hope. Since Feb. 2, however, the demands of Persia for a loan of about \$6,000,000 to assist her in changing her crops and abandoning the cultivation of the poppy, and similar demands from Turkey for financial aid in constructing beet sugar refineries, and from other countries especially affected, had greatly complicated the problem.

At 10:30 A. M., on Feb. 6, however, suddenly, dramatically and with the full knowledge and consent of his Government, Mr. Porter announced to President Zahle that American participation was at an end, and that the American delegation had booked passage on the first steamer sailing for America. The announcement caused consternation to President Zahle, but for the time he kept the news to himself. The rump of the conference continued to sit, at first without comment upon the absence of the Americans. At 1 P. M., however, the Egyptian delegation demanded to know whether the absence of the representatives of the United States indicated their withdrawal from the conference. President Zahle, with deep emotion, acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Porter's letter of withdrawal. Lord Cecil expressed profound regret, but declared that the United States' absence would

result in no change of plans or conclusions of the conference.

The salient features of the memorandum accompanying Mr. Porter's letter of withdrawal were as follows:

* * * Despite over two months of discussion and repeated adjournments, it now clearly appears that the purpose for which the conference was called cannot be accomplished. The reports of the various committees plainly indicate that there is no likelihood under present conditions that the production of raw opium and coca leaves will be restricted to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world. In fact, the nature of the reservations show that no appreciable reduction in raw opium is to be expected.

It was hoped that, if the nations in whose territory the use of smoking opium is temporarily permitted, would, in pursuance of the obligation undertaken under Chapter II. of The Hague Convention, adopt measures restricting the importation of raw opium for the manufacture of smoking opium, or would agree to suppress the traffic within a definite period, such action would materially reduce the market for raw opium, and an extensive limitation of production would inevitably follow.

Unfortunately, however, these nations, with the exception of Japan, are not prepared to reduce the consumption of smoking opium unless the producing nations agree to reduce production and prevent smuggling from their territories, and then only in the event of adequate guarantee being given that the obligations undertaken by the producing nations would be effectively and promptly fulfilled. No restriction of the production of raw opium under such conditions can be expected. * * *

We desire to make it clear that our withdrawal from the present conference does not mean that the United States will cease its efforts through international cooperation for the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. The United States recognizes that the world-wide traffic in habit-forming drugs can be suppressed only by international cooperation, but it believes that for the present, at least, greater strides in the control of the traffic may be hoped for if it should continue to work toward this end upon the basis of The Hague Convention of 1912.

It is only fair that the following cable message, made public by the British Bureau of Information on Feb. 7, should be read in connection with Mr. Porter's memorandum:

The American decision to withdraw is surprising in view of the fact that success had been nearly attained in drafting a convention to control drugs, a matter in which it had been always understood America was particularly interested, quite apart from the question of opium smoking in the Far East. * * *

It is misleading to assume that control over drugs can be secured only by control over production of the raw products. Control over factories and distributing agencies is at least as effectual. It is far more practicable. The chief producing countries, China, Persia and Turkey, can not or will not restrict or control production, but control over factories and distribution could begin tomorrow, given international cooperation.

Mr. Porter's criticism of the second convention (relating to drugs), that it does not touch a number of opium derivatives, is difficult to understand, since every opium derivative liable to abuse is fully controlled by the convention. If any such derivatives are not harmful (according to scientific authority), they are not subject to control. Moreover, the amount of morphine made into non-noxious drugs will be watched.

It is noticeable that the British arguments against the practicability of the American plan have not been answered. Lord Cecil pointed out this morning that they have never been answered.

Bishop Brent, himself a retired member of the American delegation to the opium conference, thus summarized what he conceives to be the chief results likely to follow this first American participation in a discussion of the League of Nations:

In the first place, the conference has created public opinion that could not have been aroused by any other means. It has focused the attention of the world on the subject of drug control. You can be assured that there is going to be no cessation of efforts to bring about an international regulation of the opium traffic. I have absolutely no doubt that what we hoped to do at present will eventually be done. Mr. Porter is not to be credited with failure. He has done a magnificent piece of work at the Geneva conference.

The defection of the American delegation was followed on Feb. 7 by that of China; the Chinese representatives withdrew, it was stated, because the conference gave China no assurance of an early prohibition of opium traffic.

Frederick A. Wallis, Commissioner of the Department of Correction of the City of New York, writes to the editor regarding the figures given in his article in the February CURRENT HISTORY as follows:

My article was correct so far as Government figures are concerned, which were based on the survey made by the United States Government in 1919. Congressman Porter informs me that the Government overlooked the fact that the United States is exporting a large part of this opium and its derivatives and therefore thirty-six grains per annum per capita would be correct. However, there is no record of the amount of opium and its derivatives that are being re-imported into this country, which would probably far exceed thirty-six grains per capita.

In a very recent report of the Treasury, the Government's statement of 90 per cent. as really being used in this country was smuggled in. No one seems to know just how much is coming into this country for consumption. If the Government states that 90 per cent. of the opium is correct, and we have no right to challenge it, it would appear to me that the consumption would be much larger than the Government officially gave out as thirty-six grains.

I have before me now a statement direct from the Prohibition and Narcotic Bureau of the Treasury Department, dated May 4, 1924, in which the bureau states: "The smuggling of narcotic drugs constitutes the greatest problem with which the Narcotic Division has to deal. It is estimated that 90 per cent., perhaps more, of the supply of non-medical drug addicts is procured through unauthorized channels, the dope peddler or bootlegger, and represents smuggled drugs."

Mrs. Helen Howell Moorhead, Secretary Committee on Traffic in Opium, Foreign Policy Association, New York City, at request of the Editor for elucidation of opium data, writes:

In view of the statement in an article by Frederick Wallis in the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY, giving the annual per capita consumption in various countries in Europe and using the figure for the United States, of 36 grains per capita, with the statement that "India uses less. * * * And furthermore our consumption of opium is steadily on the increase," I submit the following:

The origin of this inaccurate statement of 36 grains per head was a report of the special committee of investigation appointed March 25, 1918, by the Secretary of the Treasury to investigate the traffic in narcotic drugs. In publishing the report the United States Treasury Department stated: "* * * the department does not vouch for the accuracy of the figures given nor assume finality for the conclusions arrived at * * * complete and accurate statistics of the extent of drug addiction have never been compiled and are not now available."

The figure of 36 grains per head was arrived at by computing the average annual amount of opium "entered for consumption" on the basis of imports for the five years 1910-15, and dividing the result, 470,000 pounds, by the population of the United States (Census of 1910). The error was due to the fact that the committee assumed that all opium imported "for consumption" was actually used in this country, and neglected to consider that during the period in ques-

tion American manufacturers exported large quantities of morphine, heroin and other narcotics made from opium, "entered for consumption." If exports had been deducted, the final figure would have been greatly diminished.

In spite of its evident inaccuracy, this figure has been used widely in private and semi-official reports on the traffic in narcotic drugs. It was introduced in the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives on the joint resolution requesting the President to urge upon certain nations the necessity of limiting opium production to medical and scientific needs. It has been published in pamphlets of many anti-narcotic organizations, and given wide circulation in the press.

An official explanation and repudiation of the 36 grain per capita estimate was made by Stephen G. Porter in Geneva, January, 1925, after statements had been made regarding the per capita consumption in the United States by the representative of Great Britain. Previously, this figure had been repudiated by a representative of the American State Department at the meeting of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Opium at Geneva in May, 1923.

The official statement made to the League of Nations in November, 1924, and quoted by Mr. Porter at the recent conference, places per capita consumption at .56 grams, or a little more than 8 grains. The estimated per capita requirements of opium for medical and scientific needs, based on figures supplied by various Governments at the request of the League of Nations, are as follows:

	Grains.
Italy	3.75
Germany	4.00
Great Britain	8.10
United States	8.40
Canada	8.70
Australia	11.80
Austria	12.30
Denmark	13.50
Switzerland	18.15

There have been other semi-official estimates. The Public Health Service, in a survey of Allegheny County, Maryland, found the per capita consumption of opium to be 6.98 grains. Allegheny County was selected for the survey because it combined urban and rural communities, and was a representative district. The Committee on Drug Addictions of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York, cooperating with the Public Health Service, made a survey of the use of narcotics under the provisions of Federal law in six communities in the United States for the period July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, with the following result:

	Grains.
Sioux City	4.41
Montgomery, Ala.	13.99
Tacoma, Wash.	4.17
Gary, Ind.	3.74
Elmira, N. Y.	14.14
El Paso, Texas	5.00

No average has been arrived at through these figures, as further investigations are being made in regard to Montgomery and Elmira, both of whose per capita figures are extremely high.

The Health Committee of the League of Nations made inquiries regarding requirements of opium and its derivatives and concluded that 450 milligrams (6.75 grains) of raw opium represents a maximum. It is intended to serve as a basis for reduction of world production of opium and manufacture of its derivatives.

On this basis, the need of the world for medicine and science would be met by an annual production of raw opium of 350 tons. The present world production is 3,500 tons, according to figures issued by the Opium Section of the League of Nations. This in-

cludes 2,000 tons as China's production, all of which is illegal.

Since the official per capita figure of the Health Committee of the League is 6.75, on this basis the world needs 350 tons; and since the official per capita figure for the United States is 8.40 at present, surely we can, without any serious hardship, agree with the League efforts to reduce the world production to the above amount.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Among the new contemplated activities of the League was the calling of an international conference to abate the passport nuisance and devise some sort of universal passport. Its advisory Technical Committee sent to all Governments a request for detailed information concerning their method of issuing and visasing passports.

On Jan. 22 Costa Rica filed her resignation from the League of Nations.

THE WORLD COURT

Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, progenitor of the proposal for American participation in a World Court of International Justice on Jan. 19, made public the following reply to a letter from William C. Sproul, former Governor of Pennsylvania, regarding the status of the proposed legislation:

1. The international statute defining the status and power of the Court provides that the Judges shall be elected by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. The proposal submitted by President Harding contemplated a change in this statutory provision, according to which the vote of the United State should be included in the Court, although without membership on our part in the League of Nations.

2. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations duly considered the Harding proposal. A large majority of the members, irrespective of party, expressed approval of adherence by the United States to the existing Court. A bare majority, however, were of the opinion that the authority of the Court would be greater and the position of the United States less decided is so great, that I should like to see it taken up for action in the near future. My opinion is strongly in favor of the committee resolution. * * *

3. Accordingly, on May 26, 1924, a majority resolution was reported to the Senate favoring adherence to the Court on the basis of universal suffrage, as above suggested. This resolution went upon the Senate calendar. Its calendar number is 651. The Foreign Rela-

tions Committee has no further duty to perform in the matter. The whole question of adherence is before the Senate. * * *

4. Meanwhile an important international event has occurred. The Benes protocol has been promulgated from Geneva, by the terms of which the Permanent Court would become even more definitely than at present the legal adviser, or attorney general, of the League of Nations, and upon questions which may include the purely domestic concerns of the United States.

This development led President Coolidge, in his message to Congress delivered on Dec. 4, 1924, to advocate a modification of the original proposal, intended to meet this new menace to international peace. * * *

This letter gave little hope of early favorable action by the Senate, despite ardent appeals from leaders of both parties, from outstanding figures like Chief Justice Taft, ex-Attorney General Wickersham, from bodies like the Delaware Legislature, the Federal Council of Churches, and even from the President himself. On Jan. 24 President Coolidge, in an address to the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War in session in Washington, said:

I believe that the next step which we may well take is by way of participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice. I believe that with our adherence to that tribunal, for which I earnestly hope, it will become one medium in which may gradually be precipitated and crystallized a body of international law and procedure, which, by avoiding the dangers that would attend the establishment of a super-government, will ultimately command the respect and approbation of the world's public opinion and the cooperation of the nations.

SAFEGUARDS FOR AMERICAN INVESTORS

It was announced on Feb. 5 that, as a result of the many requests for American loans pouring in on bankers from foreign Governments, the first important step to safeguard American investors from unsafe securities had been taken that day by the New York Stock Exchange. This would consist of a number of requirements that would henceforth have to be satisfied before the bonds could be listed.

America's Share in the Dawes Plan

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University.

TO what extent the United States became involved, if at all, in European affairs was undoubtedly the most interesting question raised when American official representatives signed the Paris agreement regarding the distribution of funds accumulating under the Dawes plan. The agreement (the full text of which is printed at the end of this article) resulted from the discussions of the conference of Finance Ministers, which Myron T. Herrick, Ambassador to France; Frank B. Kellogg, Ambassador to Great Britain, and Colonel James A. Logan, observer of the Reparation Commission, were instructed to attend on behalf of the United States.

It was stated in Paris on Jan. 3 that Finance Minister Clémentel had issued an inventory of France's financial condition in which he did not count the debts to Great Britain and the United States as a net liability, because, as he explained, France regarded it as unjust that she should pay these debts in full, and counted on a reduction. On Jan. 5 Ambassador Herrick discussed the question with representatives of the French Government and next day it was agreed that M. Clémentel should submit to the United States Embassy a memorandum outlining the French point of view and making "unofficial" suggestions looking to adjustment. When the memorandum was submitted, Ambassador Herrick cabled to Secretary Hughes the proposals, without transmitting the actual text of the memorandum. Meantime British Foreign Secretary Chamberlain clearly intimated to Secretary Hughes that unless the United States helped to collect from Germany she could not share in the annuities col-

lected under the Dawes plan. On the other hand, the British reply to the French note of Jan. 10 regarding France's debt to Great Britain, which was published on Feb. 8, was to the effect that the British Government was willing to consider proposals to reduce the debt, provided that France made definite payments from her own national resources without reference to reparations. It was suggested, therefore, that "French payments should be divided into (a) fixed annual amounts to be paid by France irrespective of actual receipts from the Dawes annuities in a particular year, and (b) a further annual charge on the French share in the Dawes annuities."

The agenda of the Conference of Finance Ministers, as announced on Jan. 6, included: (1) The division of the amounts on hand; (2) the division of the amounts to be received, and (3) the American demand. Mr. Churchill reached Paris insisting that "if France makes arrangements to pay the United States, it is right and inevitable that she should pay her debts to Great Britain *pari passu*."

It was definitely announced on Jan. 11 that the United States would get 2½ per cent. of the German reparation payments to cover her war damage awards beginning 1927. This meant that if Germany paid 2,500,000,000 marks annually the United States would get \$14,000,000. In addition, it was stated, the United States would get 55,000,000 marks (\$13,750,000) annually to pay the costs of the Army of Occupation, until \$240,000,000 had been paid. Extremely significant was the further statement that general satisfaction that the United States, through the agree-

ment reached at the conference, had become "one of the contracting parties to the Dawes plan and general reparation question" was expressed by all the European delegations. A little clearer explanation of this feeling of satisfaction appeared in a Paris dispatch of Jan. 12, which said: "From the moment the United States undertakes to collect war damages through the Reparation Commission her interest and, it is held by European diplomats, her responsibility, becomes involved in the relations between the Allies and Germany. Added significance is given to this feature of the situation by the fact that the agreement will be signed by Ambassador Kellogg, shortly to become Secretary of State. * * * The Allies, except the chronic kickers, are pretty well satisfied, and two of their diplomats told me to-day they thought they had paid a cheap price to tie up the United States to enforcement of German reparation payments." This startling conclusion at once aroused the anti-League of Nations forces in America, for \$25,000,000 a year seemed to them small indeed, if in payment the United States had become "involved in the relations between the Allies and Germany."

That Germany would fail to meet her obligations under the Dawes plan had already begun to appear unlikely, as the reports showed her already ahead of her engagements, 22,000,000 gold marks having been already paid in excess of what was demanded by the contract. Nevertheless, the contingency of a still possible failure had to be faced. The American delegation, before signing the agreement, were therefore under obligation to consider several questions: What would be the obligation of the United States should Germany default? In addition to its specific declarations, what did the agreement imply? What change did it make in the relation of the United States to the League of Nations, to Europe and to problems which have hitherto been held to be no concern of ours? With the evident intention of avoiding all possible future dispute upon this point, Ambassador Kel-

logg, at the moment of signing on Jan. 14, 1925, asked the conference to agree that the United States might sign with the reservation that the Washington Government would be bound "only in so far as the rights of the United States were concerned." Winston Churchill, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, at once replied that it had been understood throughout the conference that the United States would sign the whole agreement, thereby becoming a party to the Dawes plan. Premier Theunis of Belgium, Finance Minister Clémentel of France and Finance Minister Stefani of Italy at once concurred with Mr. Churchill. In the face of such opposition, Ambassador Kellogg withdrew his request and the three American delegates signed the whole agreement, including both the section relating to payment of the American claims and also the payment of sums due under the Treaty of Versailles.

Speaking after the signing of the document, M. Clémentel said: "We are to congratulate ourselves that the operation of the Dawes plan has brought again in our midst, not as friendly observers but as actors, official representatives of the great Republic of the United States. * * * For the first time since 1919 are met here official delegations of all countries which grouped themselves in tragic days about the same ideal and whose sons fell side by side upon our battlefields." M. Clémentel in a speech before the Chamber, on Jan. 16, characterized the agreement and America's signature as "an insurance policy on the payment of reparations," adding: "America's participation is beyond price." Washington steadily insisted that "the United States remains as free from European entanglements as she was before," but the press was by no means united in that opinion. Such discussions aroused the "irreconcilables" in the United States Senate, the men whose mission after the peace conference was to keep America out of the League of Nations. On Jan. 17 Senator Hiram Johnson of Cali-

fornia introduced a resolution calling on the State Department to make available to the Senate the text of the agreement. At the same time he said: "If the facts are as stated in the press, we have united in an agreement under which we receive certain moneys, and I cannot see the situation otherwise than do Mr. Churchill and Finance Minister Clémentel of France, that having united in an agreement to receive its benefits we undertake its responsibilities, too." Secretary Hughes, on Jan. 19, issued a statement declaring that the Paris agreement had either legally or morally imposed no obligation of the character described by Colonel Harvey, who had the day before written in *The Washington Post* that the United States was pledged to intervention "in the cockpit of Europe." President Coolidge at once corroborated the Secretary's statement.

Louis Marin, who had been a Cabinet Minister under Poincaré, made an impassioned speech in the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 21 in which he said: "Must we pay now for tunics and rifles of the 350,000 men who fell between the time of America's declaration of war and the first entry of her troops into action?" Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, at once took the ground that France seemed to be contemplating repudiation, and proceeded to reply, point by point, to Marin's speech. Clearly and with characteristic vigor he defended the United States, both in her present demands and in her dealings with France during the years following the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. In the light of this reply, the French Chamber of Deputies, on Jan. 23, disavowed Deputy Marin's speech. Subsequent official statements emphatically declared that the French Government had never intended to repudiate its debt to the United States. Nevertheless, Europe and America continued to think differently about the effects of the Paris agreement. The American view was officially set forth in the following letter

from Secretary Hughes, which accompanied the text of agreement when it was transmitted to the Senate on Feb. 3 in response to Senator Hiram Johnson's resolution:

TEXT OF THE HUGHES LETTER

Feb. 3, 1925.

The President:

I have the honor to make the following response to Senate Resolution 301 of Jan. 20 (calendar day, Jan. 21), 1925, requesting the Secretary of State, if not incompatible with the public interest, to transmit to the Senate copy of the agreement signed by Messrs. Kellogg, Herrick and Logan at the conference of the Allied and Associated Powers in the World War relating to the Dawes plan and the payment of reparations by Germany, together with such information respecting the circumstances surrounding the negotiation and execution of the agreement as may be relevant to a full understanding of its terms.

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Senate, a copy of the agreement signed by Messrs. Herrick, Kellogg and Logan at Paris under date of Jan. 14, 1925, to which the Senate resolution refers.

With respect to the "circumstances surrounding the negotiation and execution of the agreement as may be relevant to a full understanding of its terms," I beg to say:

In view of the serious conditions existing in Europe and the necessity of providing means for the economic recovery of Germany and the appropriate discharge of her obligations, the Reparation Commission invited distinguished experts to consider important aspects of this problem. Among these experts were American citizens, namely, Charles G. Dawes, Owen D. Young and Henry M. Robinson. The committee of experts, of which Mr. Dawes was Chairman, which undertook to examine the means of balancing the budget of Germany and the measures to be taken to stabilize her currency, submitted a report under date of April 9, 1924.

The spirit and purpose of this report are indicated in the letter accompanying it in which Mr. Dawes said that it "bases its plan upon those principles of justice, fairness and mutual interest in the supremacy of which not only the creditors of Germany and Germany herself, but the world, has a vital and enduring concern. With these principles fixed and accepted in that common good faith, which is the foundation of all business and the best safeguard for universal peace, the recommendations of the committee must be considered not as inflicting penalties, but as suggesting means for assisting the economic recovery of all the European peoples and the entry upon a new period of happiness and prosperity unmenaced by war."

In its report, the Dawes committee made recommendations with respect to annual payments by Germany, stating that these payments were to be of an inclusive character. The committee said:

"Before passing from this part of our report we desire to make it quite clear that the sums denoted above in our examination of the successive years, comprise all amounts for which Germany may be liable to the Allied and Associated Powers for the costs arising out of the war, including reparation,

restitution, all costs of all armies of occupation," etc.

It is evident that it was the intention of the committee to provide a comprehensive plan of economic reconstruction and that the annual payments to be made by Germany were to be applicable to all her obligations to the allied and associated powers, this descriptive term manifestly including the United States.

The United States has two classes of claims against Germany: (1) For the costs of its Army of Occupation, and (2) for the claims upon which it is entitled to recovery under the treaty between the United States and Germany of Aug. 25, 1921.

An executive agreement had been made under date of May 25, 1923, for the gradual liquidation of the claim for the costs of the American Army of Occupation, but this agreement had not yet become effective. The amount of the claim for unpaid costs of the Army of Occupation was approximately \$250,000,000. The other claims which the United States is seeking to recover are the subject of an executive agreement with the German Government under date of Aug. 10, 1922, providing for a mixed commission to determine the amount to be paid by Germany. This commission consists of an American Commissioner, a German Commissioner and an umpire, who by agreement of the Governments of the United States and Germany is an American citizen. Under the agreement establishing the mixed commission it is provided that the following categories of claims shall be passed upon, to wit:

"1. Claims of American citizens, arising since July 31, 1914, in respect of damage to, or seizure of, their property, rights and interests, including any company or association in which they are interested within German territory as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914.

"2. Other claims for loss or damage to which the United States or its nationals have been subjected with respect to injuries to persons or to property, rights and interests, including any company or association in which American nationals are interested, since July 31, 1914, as a consequence of the war.

"3. Debts owing to American citizens by the German Government or by German nationals."

This mixed commission has been sitting in Washington and the claims of the Government of the United States and its nationals against Germany are in course of adjudication. While it is not possible at this time to fix precisely the total amount of the awards, it is estimated that they will not exceed \$350,000,000.

On July 16, 1924, a conference of representatives of the allied powers was convened in London to consider the recommendations of the Dawes committee. In view of the inclusive nature of the payments contemplated by the Dawes plan, the American Ambassador at London was directed to attend the conference in order that the interests of the United States might be safeguarded.

While the London conference resulted in agreements by the allied powers and between those powers and Germany for the putting into effect of the Dawes plan, that conference did not attempt to distribute the payments which it was expected would be received by Germany under the plan. It was arranged that a meeting of Finance Ministers of the allied powers should be convened for the purpose of allocating these payments.

That meeting was held in Paris on Jan. 7, 1925. As it was important that the payments expected under the Dawes plan should not be distributed without appropriate recog-

nition of the claims of the United States and its participation in these payments, the American Ambassador at Paris, the American Ambassador at London and Mr. James A. Logan Jr., who has been acting as observer in relation to the transactions of the Reparation Commission, were instructed to attend and to represent this Government at the Paris meeting.

They did so and this meeting resulted in an agreement between the representatives of the respective powers as to the allocation of the payments expected to be made by Germany under the Dawes plan.

With respect to the purpose and scope of this meeting and of the agreement there reached, I made, on Jan. 19, the following public statement:

"1. The conference of Finance Ministers held at Paris was for the purpose of reaching an agreement as to the allocation of the payments expected through the operation of the Dawes plan. In view of the inclusive character of these payments, it was necessary for the United States to take part in the conference in order to protect its interests.

"2. The conference at Paris was not a body, agency or commission provided for either by our treaty with Germany or by the Treaty of Versailles. In taking part in this conference there was no violation of the reservation attached by the Senate to the treaty of Berlin.

"3. The agreement reached at Paris was simply for the allocation of the payments made under the Dawes plan. It does not provide for sanctions or deal with any questions that might arise if the contemplated payments should not be made. With respect to any such contingency, the agreement at Paris puts the United States under no obligation, legally or morally, and the United States will be as free as it ever was to take any course of action it may think advisable.

"4. The agreement at Paris neither surrenders nor modifies any treaty right of the United States."

With respect to payments to the United States the agreement provides as follows:

[Here follows the text of Article 3 of the agreement, which is printed in full in the following pages.]

It will be observed that while provision is thus made for the participation of the United States in the payments to be made by Germany under the Dawes plan, there is no agreement to limit the amount of the claims of the United States, which, as I have said, can only be estimated at the present time. As I said in the statement above quoted, the agreement makes no provision for sanctions and does not commit the United States in any way to any action in case the contemplated payments are not made. Moreover, the agreement itself provides as follows:

"The provisions of the present arrangement concluded between the powers interested in reparations do not prejudice any rights or obligations of Germany under the treaties, conventions and arrangements at present in force."

In conclusion it may be said that this agreement was negotiated under the long-recognized authority of the President to arrange for the payment of claims in favor of the United States and its nationals. The exercise of this authority has many illustrations, one of which is the agreement of 1901 for the so-called Boxer indemnity.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES E. HUGHES.

The President.
The White House.

Agreement Regarding the Distribution of Dawes Annuities

FINAL PROTOCOL.

The representatives of the Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, the United States of America, Italy, Japan, Brazil, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Czechoslovakia, assembled at Paris from the 7th to the 14th January, 1925, with a view to settling as between their respective Governments questions which arise out of the distribution of the receipts already entered, or to be entered, in the accounts of the Reparation Commission, in particular after the 1st January, 1923, to 1st September, 1924, and also in the first years of the application of the Dawes plan which formed the subject of the agreements concluded in London, 31st August, 1924.

Have agreed on the provisions contained in the agreement of today's date of which a copy is attached to the present protocol.

DONE at Paris, 14th January, 1925.

CLEMENTEL, G. THEUNIS, WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, MYRON T. HERRICK, FRANK B. KELLOGG, JAMES A. LOGAN JR., ALBERTO DE STEFANI, K. ISHII, L. M. DE SOUZA DANTAS, EM. J. TSOUDEROS, J. MROZOWSKI, J. KARSNICKI, ANTONIO DA FONSECA, VINTILA BRATIANO, N. TITULESCU, SVOYADINOVITCH, STEFAN OSUSKY.

AGREEMENT.

The Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the United States of America, Brazil, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czechoslovakia, respectively represented by the undersigned, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I—ALLOCATION OF THE DAWES ANNUITIES

ARTICLE 1—COSTS OF THE COMMISSIONS

(a) The maximum normal charge on the Dawes Annuities of the Reparation Commission, including the organizations set up under the Dawes plan, shall be:

For the year from Sept. 1, 1924, 9,250,000 gold marks; for the later years, 7,500,000 gold marks (to be taken partly in foreign currencies or in German currency as required).

Of these sums not more than 3,700,000 gold marks a year shall be attributable to the organizations set up under the Dawes plan. If necessary this can be increased in order to meet the costs of the arbitral bodies provided for by the Dawes plan and the London protocol.

(b) The maximum charge for the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission (including deliveries under Articles 8-12 of the Rhineland Agreement) shall not exceed 10,000,000 gold marks (to be taken in foreign currencies or in German currency as required) for the year from Sept. 1, 1924, this sum being allocated between the French, British and Belgian High Commissariats in the proportion of 62:16:22, after providing for the other expenses of the commission. The amount for any later year will be settled at a later date.

(c) The charge of the Military Commission of Control shall not exceed a maximum of 8,000,000 gold marks (to be taken in German currency in the year from Sept. 1, 1924). The amount of any later year will be settled at a later date. This figure does not include the commission's expenses in national currencies, which shall continue to be paid by the Governments concerned, the amounts so paid being credited to their respective ac-

counts by the Reparation Commission, in the same way as the expenditure in national currencies incurred for their Armies of Occupation.

ARTICLE 2—COSTS OF ARMIES OF OCCUPATION, 1924-1925

(a) The sums to be allowed as a prior charge on payments by Germany during the year Sept. 1, 1924, to Aug. 31, 1925, in respect of the costs of the Armies of Occupation of Belgium, Great Britain and France shall be fixed at the following amounts:

Belgian Army, 25,000,000 gold marks.

British Army, 25,000,000 gold marks.

French Army, 110,000,000 gold marks.

(b) Belgium, Great Britain and France will meet their additional army costs during the period mentioned out of their respective shares in German reparation payments, but shall not be debited on reparation account therewith—that is to say, their respective reparation arrears will be increased by corresponding sums.

(c) The additional army costs shall be calculated as follows. Each power will be entitled to receive:

(1) The sums payable under the Finance Ministers' Agreement of March 11, 1922, calculated in the case of Great Britain on the basis of the French capitation rate with a special allowance of two gold marks a man, converted into sterling on the basis of the mean rates of exchange of the respective currencies during the month of December, 1921. The value of German marks supplied to the Armies of Occupation and the value of any requisitions under Article 6 of the Rhineland Agreement shall, as heretofore, be included in these sums; and

(2) The value of the requisitions and services under Articles 8-12 of the Rhineland Agreement, which are credited to Germany in the accounts of the Agent General for Reparations. For each power the additional army costs shall be the difference between the total sum so calculated and the amount of the prior charge set out in paragraph (a) above.

(d) It is agreed that the powers concerned in the occupation shall not charge for effectives in excess of the strength authorized for each respectively by Article 1 (2) and (3) of the Agreement of March 11, 1922.

(e) The provisions of this article for the year to Aug. 31, 1925, are accepted without prejudice to any question of principle, and the allied Governments and the Government of the United States of America will discuss before Sept. 1, 1925, the arrangement for army costs in the future.

ARTICLE 3—SHARE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE DAWES ANNUITIES

(a) Out of the amount received from Germany on account of the Dawes annuities, there shall be paid to the United States of America the following sums in reimbursement of the costs of the United States Army of Occupation and for the purpose of satisfying the awards of the Mixed Claims Commission established in pursuance of the Agreement between the United States and Germany of Aug. 1, 1922.

(1) 55,000,000 gold marks per annum, beginning Sept. 1, 1926, and continuing until the principal sums outstanding on account of the costs of the United States Army of Occupation, as already reported to the Reparation Commission, shall be extinguished. These annual payments constitute a first charge on cash made available for transfer by the Transfer Committee out of the Dawes annuities, after the provision of the sums necessary for the service of the 800,000,000 gold marks German External Loan, 1924, and for the costs of the Reparation Commission,

the organizations established pursuant to the Dawes plan, the Interallied Rhineland High Commission, the Military Control Commissions provided for in Article 9 below, and for any other prior charges which may hereafter with the assent of the United States of America be admitted. If in any year the total sum of 55,000,000 gold marks be not transferred to the United States of America, the arrears shall be carried forward to the next annual instalment payable to the United States of America, which shall be pro tanto increased. Arrears shall be cumulative and shall bear simple interest at 4½ per cent. from the end of the year in which said arrears accumulated until they are satisfied.

(2) Two and one-quarter per cent. of all receipts from Germany on account of the Dawes annuities available for distribution as reparations, *after deduction of the sums allotted for other treaty charges by the agreement* [words in italics in the text issued by the British Foreign Office, but omitted from the text submitted by the United States State Department to the President] provided that the annuity resulting from this percentage shall not in any year exceed the sum of 45,000,000 gold marks.

(b) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (a) above, the United States of America agree:

(1) To waive any claim under the army cost agreement of May 25, 1923, on cash receipts obtained since Jan. 1, 1923, beyond the sum of \$14,725,154,040, now deposited by Belgium to the Treasury of the United States in a blocked account in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, which sum shall forthwith be released to the United States Treasury.

(2) That the agreement of May 25, 1923, does not apply to payments on account of reparations by any ex-enemy powers other than Germany.

(3) That the agreement of May 25, 1923, is deemed to be superseded by the present agreement.

(c) The provisions of this agreement relating to the admission against the Dawes annuities of charges other than reparations, and the allotments provided for such charges, shall not be modified by the allied Governments so as to reduce the sums to be distributed as reparations, save in agreement with the United States of America.

(d) The United States of America is recognized as having an interest, proportionate to its 2½ per cent. interest in the part of the annuities available for reparation, in any distribution of railway bonds, industrial debentures, or other bonds issued under the Dawes plan, or in the proceeds of any sale of undistributed bonds or debentures, and as having the right also to share in any distribution or in the proceeds of any sale of such bonds or debentures for any arrears that may be due to it in respect of the repayment of its army costs as provided in the present agreement. The United States of America is also recognized as having an interest in any other disposition that may be made of the bonds if not sold or distributed.

ARTICLE 4—BELGIAN WAR DEBT

(a) As from Sept. 1, 1924, 5 per cent. of the total sum available in any year after meeting the charges for the service of the German External Loan, 1924, and the charges for costs of commissions, costs of United States Army of Occupation, annuity for arrears of pre-May 1 army costs, prior charge for current army costs, and any other prior charges which may hereafter be agreed, shall be applied to the reimbursement of the Belgian war debt as defined in the last paragraph of Article 232 of the Treaty of Versailles.

(b) The amounts so applied in any year shall be distributed between the powers concerned in proportion to the amount of the debts due to them respectively as at May 1,

1921. Pending the final settlement of the accounts France shall receive 46 per cent., Great Britain 42 per cent., and Belgium (by reason of her debt to the United States of America) 12 per cent.

ARTICLE 5—RESTITUTION

(A) There shall be applied to the satisfaction of claims for restitution:

(a) During the first four years, 1 per cent. of the total sum available in any year after meeting the charges for the service of the German External Loan, 1924, and the charges for cost of commissions; costs of United States Army of Occupation annuity for arrears of pre-May 1, 1921, army costs; prior charge for current army costs, and any other prior charge which may hereafter be agreed; (b) during subsequent years, 1 per cent. of the balance of the first milliard after meeting the charges enumerated above and 2 per cent. of the surplus of the annuity.

(B) The amount so applied shall be distributed between the powers having a claim for restitution proportionately to their respective claims under this head as accepted by the Reparation Commission.

(C) The French and Italian Governments reserve their rights to claim restitution of certain objects of art by the application of Article 238 of Treaty of Versailles. The other allied Governments will support their efforts to secure the execution by Germany of such restitution. Nevertheless, if the fulfillment of this obligation involves a charge on the Dawes annuities, the value will be charged against the share in the annuity of the power interested.

ARTICLE 6—BELGIAN PRIORITY

(A) It is agreed that the determination of the exact position as regards the satisfaction of the Belgian priority depends on the settlement of the distribution account which the Reparation Commission has been requested to draw up.

(B) Out of the part of the annuities received from Germany and available for distribution as reparations among the allied powers after Sept. 1, 1924, Belgium will receive:

(a) During the year commencing Sept. 1, 1924, 8 per cent.

(b) During the year commencing Sept. 1, 1925, so long as Belgian priority is not extinguished, 8 per cent. of each monthly payment. As soon as the priority is extinguished the percentage of all further payments during the year in question will be reduced to 4.5 per cent.

(c) During the year commencing Sept. 1, 1926, and during each succeeding year 4.5 per cent.

This reduction in percentage is accepted as fully discharging Belgium from her obligations to repay her priority.

(C) As from the date at which Belgian priority is extinguished, or at the latest from Sept. 1, 1926, the 3½ per cent. released by the above arrangements for the repayment of the Belgian priority will be payable to France and Great Britain in the proportion 52:22, in addition to their Spa percentages.

The sums debited to Belgium in respect of the period to Sept. 1, 1924, will not be regarded as creating for her either excess payments or arrears, provided that this shall be without prejudice to the liability of Belgium to account for any final balance under the economic clauses of the treaty.

(D) The rights accruing to Belgium as a result of previous agreements on payments received or to be received from or on account of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria remain unaltered.

ARTICLE 7—GREEK AND RUMANIAN REPARATION PERCENTAGES

(A) The percentage of reparation payments available for distribution between the allied powers to be allotted to Greece is fixed at 0.4 per cent. of payments by Germany and of the first half of payments by Austria,

Hungary, and Bulgaria, and 25 per cent. of the second half of payments by Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

(B) The percentage of reparation payments available for distribution between the allied powers to be allotted to Rumania is fixed at 1.1 per cent. of payments made by Germany and of the first half of payments by Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and 20 per cent. of the second half of payments made by Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

ARTICLE 8—MISCELLANEOUS CLAIMS

(A) The following claims, namely:

(a) Costs of military occupation of the Plebiscite Zones (Annex to Article 88 of Treaty).

(b) Costs of repatriation of German prisoners of war (Article 217 of the Treaty).

(c) Repayment of exceptional war expenses advanced by Alsace-Lorraine during the war, or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine, on account of the empire (Article 58 of the Treaty).

(d) Payment of certain indemnities in the Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa (Articles 124 and 125 of the Treaty), shall be submitted for valuation to the Reparation Commission, which shall be at liberty to use for this purpose all the means at its disposal, including reference to arbitration as proposed in Article 11 below.

The amounts of these claims, when established, shall be credited to the interested powers, in their reparation accounts as at Sept. 1, 1924, and the credits treated as arrears at that date in accordance with the provisions in Article 19 below.

(B) The following claims would appear to be payable apart from and in addition to the Dawes annuities, namely:

(a) The costs of the civil and military pensions in Alsace-Lorraine earned at the date of the armistice (Article 62 of the Treaty).

(b) The transfer of the reserves of social insurance funds in Alsace-Lorraine (Article 77 of the Treaty). Should, however, the German Government succeed in establishing that these claims must be met out of the Dawes annuities the allied Governments will concert together as to the manner in which they should be dealt with.

ARTICLE 9—COMPENSATION DUE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION OF THE DANUBE

There shall be paid forthwith to the European Commission of the Danube out of the annuities the sum of 266,800 gold francs, being the amount agreed to be due from Germany to the commission in respect of compensation for damages.

ARTICLE 10—CLEARING OFFICE BALANCES

No special charge shall be admitted against the Dawes annuities in respect of the Clearing Office balances of pre-war debts or other claims under the economic clauses of the treaty unless it is shown that any allied power claiming the benefit of such charge has a net credit balance due for payment, after applying, to meet its claims under the economic clauses, the German properties, and other assets which it has the power to liquidate under the same articles. No provision shall be made for such net credit balances during the first four years of the Dawes plan.

CHAPTER II.—SETTLEMENT OF PAST ACCOUNTS

ARTICLE 11—DISTRIBUTION ACCOUNTS: PROVISION AS TO ARBITRATION

The allied Governments request the Reparation Commission to draw up as soon as possible definite distribution accounts as at Sept. 1, 1924.

They will give authority to their respective delegates on the Reparation Commission to submit to arbitration all questions of fact or of figures arising on the accounts, and, to

the fullest possible extent, questions of interpretation on which they are not unanimous, in so far as is not already provided for in any existing arrangement.

The above provisions will apply in particular to the settlement of the Ruhr accounts in accordance with the principles set out below and to questions which may arise in regard to the amounts due under the heads of restitutions or other non-reparation claims.

ARTICLE 12—RUHR ACCOUNTS

(A) The Reparation Commission shall fix in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and the practice hitherto in force the value in gold marks of the receipts of every nature obtained by the French, Belgian and Italian Governments from Germany since Jan. 11, 1923, in so far as such receipts have not already been accounted for to it. The Reparation Commission shall similarly determine the amounts to be set against such receipts with a view to securing that the powers concerned receive credit for expenditure actually incurred by them, subject, however, to the detailed provisions below with respect to army costs.

(B) Separate accounts will be drawn up for deliveries in kind and cash receipts.

(C) The accounts of deliveries in kind shall include the value as determined by the Reparation Commission of:

(1) Deliveries in kind not yet accounted for to the Commission, including deliveries paid for from the "fonds commun" and the "fonds spécial."

(2) All requisitions under or on the analogy of Article 5 of the Rhineland Agreement and all paper marks seized and fines imposed by the armies of occupation during the period Jan. 1, 1923, up to Aug. 31, 1924, in so far as they have not already been reported to the Reparation Commission.

Against these receipts will be allowed as deductions the extra costs incurred by the French and Belgian Governments during the period Jan. 1, 1923, to Aug. 31, 1924, through the maintenance of military forces in German territory not occupied on Jan. 1, 1923, after setting off the normal costs of the maintenance of these forces in their home garrisons.

The net value of the deliveries in kind so determined shall be debited in the reparation accounts against the powers which have received them.

The value of coal and coke sold to Luxemburg during the same period shall be treated as a delivery in kind to France.

(D) The account of cash receipts shall include cash receipts of all kinds obtained by the occupying powers, including the gross amounts obtained from taxes or duties, licenses, derogations, &c. * * * and the net receipts of the Railway Régie as ascertained by the Reparation Commission after verification of the accounts.

From these receipts will be allowed as deductions the civil costs of collection and expenses of administration incurred before Aug. 31, 1924, and the costs of loading coal and exploitation of mines and cokeries up to the same date.

The balance of the account shall, with the exception of the sum mentioned in Sub-Paragraph 1 of Paragraph 8 of Article 3, be paid over to the Belgian Government, which shall be debited on account of its priority for the period before Sept. 1, 1924, with the full amount received, less the interest due on the German Treasury bills transferred to Belgium in 1922.

(E) In accordance with Annex III. to the London protocol no claim will be made for payment out of the Dawes annuities of any costs in respect of military forces in German territory not occupied on Jan. 1, 1923, other than the value of requisitions effected by or services rendered to these forces after Sept. 1, 1924. The value of such requisitions or services will be accounted for as deliveries

on reparation account to the allied powers concerned.

CHAPTER III.—SPECIAL QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS.

ARTICLE 13—EXTENSION BEYOND JAN. 1, 1923, OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 2 OF THE AGREEMENT OF MARCH 11, 1922. APPROPRIATION OF DELIVERIES IN KIND TO THE COSTS OF ARMIES OF OCCUPATION

The French, British, and Belgian Governments agree that the forfeits fixed, or to be fixed for their respective armies of occupation, from Jan. 1, 1923, and until Aug. 31, 1928, in so far as they are not met out of requisitions of paper marks, and services, &c. * * * under Article 6 of the Rhineland Agreement, should be charged on the deliveries in kind (including receipts under the British Reparation Recovery act and any similar levy established by any other Government) received by them respectively, and the Reparation Commission is requested to give effect to this decision in its accounts.

ARTICLE 14—EXTENSION BEYOND JAN. 1, 1923, OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 6 OF THE AGREEMENT OF MARCH 11, 1922: RETENTION BY EACH POWER OF THE DELIVERIES IN KIND RECEIVED BY IT

Each of the allied Governments having a credit due to it on reparation account shall be entitled to retain, without being required to make payment in cash for the value thereof, the deliveries in kind (including Reparation Recovery act receipts) received and retained by them between Dec. 31, 1922, and Sept. 1, 1924. The receipts of each power, however, up to Sept. 1, 1924, shall be taken into account in determining the adjustments provided for in Article 19.

ARTICLE 15—COSTS OF THE ARMIES OF OCCUPATION FOR THE PERIOD MAY 1 TO AUG. 1, 1924

(A) The credits to be given in respect of the costs of occupation for the period May 1, 1922, to May 1, 1924, are as follows:

	French share of forfeit gold marks.	Belgian. share of forfeit gold marks.	British share of forfeit gold marks.
May 1, 1922, to April 30, 1923, to	155,526,693	30,680,158	21,092,922
May 1, 1923, to April 30, 1924, to	117,195,330	23,284,922	22,369,567

(B) As regards the cost of occupation for the period May 1, 1924, to Aug. 31, 1924, the allied Governments will authorize their representatives on the Reparation Commission to make the necessary adjustment on the basis of the principles on which the above figures were calculated.

(C) The Reparation Commission is requested to introduce these figures into its accounts for the years in question.

ARTICLE 16—DEBITS FOR THE VESSELS ALLOTTED OR TRANSFERRED TO BELGIUM UNDER ARTICLE 6 (4) OF THE SPA PROTOCOL

The debits in the interallied accounts for the vessels allotted or transferred to Belgium under Article 6 (4) of the Spa Protocol shall be dealt with under Article 12 of the Finance Ministers' Agreement of March 11, 1922, instead of as provided for in the Spa Protocol.

ARTICLE 17—DEBITS FOR SHANTUNG RAILWAYS AND MINES

In respect of the Railways and Mines referred to in the second paragraph of Article 156 of the Treaty of Versailles, Japan will be debited by the Reparation Commission in the interallied accounts only with the equivalent of the compensation which has or may be, in fact, paid by the German Government to its nationals for their interests. Pending the establishment of the amounts in question

Japan will be regarded as entitled to her full percentage of reparations as from Sept. 1, 1924.

CHAPTER IV.—INTEREST AND ARREARS.

ARTICLE 18—INTEREST ACCOUNT

The allied Governments agree that all interest charges on reparation receipts up to Sept. 1, 1924, should be waived as between the allied powers, and all provisions in existing agreements requiring interest accounts to be kept to that date are canceled. Interest at 5 per cent. shall, however, be charged as from Sept. 1, 1924, on the excess receipts shown in the account to be drawn up under Article 19 below as due at that date by any allied power to the reparation pool as well as on any further excess receipts which may accrue after that date until they are repaid.

ARTICLE 19—EXCESSES AND ARREARS

(A) The Reparation Commission shall as soon as possible draw up an account showing as at Sept. 1, 1924, for each power entitled to a share in the reparation payments of Germany, but not including the United States of America.

(a) The net receipts of that power on reparation account as at Sept. 1, 1924, which shall be calculated by deducting from its total gross receipts as valued for the purpose of interallied distribution, the credits due to it in respect of Spa coal advances, of costs of Armies of Occupation, excluding the arrears as at May 1, 1921, provided for in Article 21, of costs of Commissions of Control not paid in German currency, of profits on exchange, and of any other approved claims such as the claims referred to in Article 8 (A) of this agreement.

(b) The amount that power should have received, had the total net reparation receipts of all the powers been distributed in accordance with the Spa percentages.

By deducting from the amount due to each power its actual debit, the Reparation Commission will determine the arrears due to that power or the excess payments due from that power as at Sept. 1, 1924.

(B) A similar calculation shall be made by the Reparation Commission on Sept. 1 in each succeeding year.

(C) For the purpose of the above calculations the figures relating to Belgium shall be included on the same footing as those relating to other powers, but, save as provided elsewhere in this agreement, Belgium shall be free of any obligation to repay reparation receipts obtained before Sept. 1, 1924.

Belgium shall, however, if the case arises, be required to account with interest for any excess of reparation receipts obtained by her after Sept. 1, 1924, over her due proportion, as laid down elsewhere in this agreement, of the total receipts effectively debited to all the powers after that date. In the contrary case Belgium will be regarded as having a claim in respect of arrears.

(D) The provisions of the second paragraph of Article 7 of the agreement of March 11, 1922, relating to the debits to be entered in the account to be drawn up under Article 235 of the treaty in respect of coal received by Italy before May 1, 1921, shall apply also to the debits for coal received by Italy between May 1, 1921, and Dec. 31, 1922.

ARTICLE 20—RECOVERY OF ARREARS

Except as otherwise provided for in this agreement,

(A) These excess receipts of any power as fixed at the end of each year under Article 19, shall be repaid by the deduction of a certain percentage from the shares of that power in each succeeding annuity until the debt is extinguished, with interest at 5 per cent., provided that no repayments under this subsection shall be required out of the annuities for the years commencing Sept. 1, 1924, and Sept. 1, 1925.

(B) In the case of Italy and the S. H. S. [Srba Hrvata Slovenaca (Serb Croat Slovene)] State, this deduction shall be fixed at 10 per cent. In the case of other countries the deduction shall be calculated by the Reparation Commission on a similar basis.

(C) The repayments made by the debtor powers shall be distributed between the powers in credit to the reparation pool in proportion to their respective arrears.

ARTICLE 21—COSTS OF THE ARMIES OF OCCUPATION TO MAY 1, 1921

The arrears due to France and Great Britain on account of pre-May 1, 1921, army costs shall be excluded from the general account of arrears, and shall be discharged by a special allotment out of the Dawes annuities (ranking immediately after the charge in favor of United States Army costs) of the following amounts—namely:

- 1st year, 15 million gold marks;
- 2d year, 20 million gold marks;
- 3d year, 25 million gold marks;
- 4th year, 30 million gold marks;

and thereafter an annuity of 30,000,000 gold marks till the arrears are extinguished.

This allotment shall be divided between France and Great Britain in the proportion, France 57 per cent., Great Britain 43 per cent. The allotment shall be taken in deliveries in kind during the first two years of the Dawes plan and thereafter may be transferred either in deliveries in kind or cash. This arrangement will not affect the distribution of any cash receipts now in the hands of the Reparation Commission available for the liquidation of army costs arrears, which receipts will be dealt with in accordance with Article 8 of the Agreement of March 11, 1922, and credited against the capital arrears. Further, the annuity above provided for will retain a prior charge up to 25 per cent. of its amount on any cash receipts not arising out of the Dawes plan which may accrue to the Reparation Commission in the future on account of Germany.

CHAPTER V.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

ARTICLE 22—PAYMENT BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOR DELIVERIES IN KIND

The sums due by Czechoslovakia to the Reparation Commission in respect of the deliveries in kind received by her from Germany and Hungary since May 1, 1921, shall be placed in a Suspense Account and carry interest at 5 per cent. from Sept. 1, 1924.

BULGARIAN PAYMENTS—Without prejudice to any question of principle, the payments made or to be made up to Dec. 31, 1926, by Bulgaria under the Protocol of Sofia dated March 21, 1923, will be distributed between the allied powers in the proportions laid down in Article 2 of the Spa Protocol. The allied Governments will agree together as to the method of distribution of these payments to be adopted after Dec. 31, 1926.

ARTICLE 24—PROPERTIES CEDED TO THE FREE CITY OF DANTZIG

The allied Governments give full powers to their respective representatives on the Reparation Commission to settle all questions connected with the debt due by the Free City of Danzig in respect of the value of the public properties ceded to the Free City by Germany, including such adjustments of the payments to be made by the Free City as may be necessitated by its financial situation.

ARTICLE 25—RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO DISTRIBUTION OF PAYMENTS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

The Finance Ministers draw the attention of the Reparation Commission to the fact that the operation of the Dawes plan would be greatly facilitated if the Agent General

for Reparation Payments could so arrange that the annual payments to be made during the operation of the Dawes plan may be distributed throughout the course of each year, and they request the Reparation Commission and the Agent General to consider what steps can be taken to secure this result, which is of particular importance during the second and third years of the plan.

With a view to accomplishing this result the allied Governments so far as they are concerned authorize the Reparation Commission and the Agent General for Reparation Payments, in cooperation with the trustees for railway bonds and industrial debentures, to take all action that may be necessary to arrange the due dates of the payments to be made on the railway and industrial bonds so as to provide for a gradual and even flow of payments throughout each annuity year.

Furthermore, the Finance Ministers authorize the Reparation Commission to make arrangements, so far as may be practicable without prejudicing the requirements of other powers, to enable the Portuguese Government to obtain during the earlier months of the second year of the Dawes plan (within the limit of its share in the second annuity) the sums necessary to complete certain outstanding orders for deliveries in kind of special importance to it.

ARTICLE 26—INTERPRETATION

This agreement shall be transmitted to the Reparation Commission, and the commission will be requested to give effect thereto and to adjust the payments during the remainder of the year to Aug. 31, 1925, and during subsequent years, so that the total receipts of each allied power during each year shall not exceed its share under this agreement. The Reparation Commission shall have authority by unanimous resolution to interpret the provisions of the agreement in so far as the allied powers are concerned. If any difference or dispute shall arise on the Reparation Commission or between the allied powers in respect of the interpretation of any provisions of this agreement or as to anything to be done hereunder, whether by the commission or otherwise, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of a single arbitrator, to be agreed on unanimously by the members of the Reparation Commission, or, failing agreement, to be appointed by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Any difference or dispute that may arise with the United States of America regarding the interpretation of this agreement affecting American claims or the rights of the United States of America under this agreement shall be referred to an arbitrator to be agreed on between the United States of America and the Reparation Commission acting unanimously.

ARTICLE 27

The provisions of the present arrangement concluded between the powers interested in reparations do not prejudice any rights or obligations of Germany under the treaties, conventions and arrangements at present in force.

The present agreement, done in English and French in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, which will supply certified copies thereof to each of the signatory powers.

In the interpretation of this agreement, the English and French texts shall be both authentic.

Paris, Jan. 14, 1925.

[Then follow the same signatures as those attached to the Final Protocol above.]

From Foreign Periodicals

The Albanian Incident and the Soviets

FROM IZVESTIA (MOSCOW), DEC. 24, 1924
(ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS).

WRITING under the title, "What Does It Mean?" J. Steklov takes the British, Italian and Yugoslav Governments to task for fomenting the recent successful Albanian revolution of Ahmed Zogu against the Fan Noli régime, which appears to have been friendly to the Soviets. The Bolshevik writer comes to the conclusion that the whole Albanian incident was part of a well-laid British plan against Soviet Russia. Steklov's editorial is based on a cable published in the same issue of the paper, giving the details of the expulsion from the Albanian capital of the recently arrived Soviet Minister, Comrade Crakovetski. According to the cablegram, the Soviet diplomat received the endorsement of the Albanian Government of Fan Noli, and arrived at his post at Tirana on Dec. 16, 1924. However, on the following day the representatives of Great Britain, Italy and Yugoslavia protested against his arrival in Albania, inasmuch as they had in the past opposed the conclusion of the Albanian-Soviet agreement regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. At the same time the revolutionary movement of Ahmed Zogu in the north, supported by Yugoslavia, was assuming serious proportions, all of which made it more difficult for Fan Noli to oppose the British-Italian-Yugoslav request for Crakovetski's expulsion. The Soviet Minister therefore left Tirana on Dec. 18. This is the story on which the Steklov editorial is based.

The Soviet writer points out that, in the incident just set forth, three European Governments openly took an attitude inimical to the Soviets. Italy acted under British compulsion and even against her own interests, although she may have received compensation elsewhere. Yugoslavia acted under the prompting of the British Conservatives, who are opposed to the Soviet, and who are eager to reconstruct the old solid anti-Soviet front. Yugoslavia also acted against Soviet Russia out of hostility to the pact concluded between the Croatian Agrarians of Stephen Raditch and the Moscow Soviet. At any rate, Steklov concludes, England played first fiddle in the Al-

banian incident, and the entire rupture is due solely to her. The results of the British intrigues against Soviet Russia, Steklov says, may be seen everywhere, as, for instance, in Bulgaria, in Rumania, and throughout the Balkans. They even reach Czechoslovakia. They are to be seen in the north, where British diplomacy is trying to bring about an alliance between Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and even Sweden, while Poland alone is following a separate policy. Thus, he asserts, the Albanian scandal is only a part of the network of British intrigue.

Joseph Caillaux and French Politics

FROM DIE NEUE RUNDSCHAU (BERLIN),
DECEMBER, 1924.

WRITING in this highly intelligent German magazine, René Schickele takes Joseph Caillaux as his theme, devoting no less than twenty-eight pages to the former French Premier. The men of the Caillaux family, he says, were carpenters in Genonville, a village of Beauce, an old French province. Joseph Caillaux, the earliest genius of the family, was born March 5, 1756. The writer follows the elder Caillaux in his first struggles toward financial independence, social position and culture, and then through the stormy days of the French Revolution, in which the former carpenter, now happily and prosperously married, took an active part as a delegate. The elder Caillaux died in 1820. It seems that the elder son of Joseph Caillaux never amounted to much, and that the family tradition had to be maintained by the grandson Eugene, who was a civil engineer, one of the great builders of roads and bridges and water systems of Napoleonic France, and subsequently Finance Minister in the Broglie Cabinet, which post he assumed on May 15, 1875. He died in 1896. At that time Joseph Caillaux, his son, was 33 years old, unmarried, and had been for three years professor in the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. Three years later, at the age of 36, he was Finance Minister. The young Caillaux was a lion in his day. He was a familiar figure in the Latin Quarter, he dressed with taste and was much sought after at dances. He showed a marked taste for the theatre, art, society, literature, but was chiefly immersed in the study of economics. He entered the French Parliament in 1898, defeating the Prince de la Rochefoucauld, for whom re-

election without opposition had become a matter of long habit.

The article of M. Schickele follows Joseph Caillaux through all the vicissitudes of political life, bringing him down to that fateful day of July 29, 1914, when, following the order of general mobilization, he ordered at his tailors a uniform of general paymaster of the armies of France. Had Caillaux died subsequent to 1917 he would in all probability have been forgotten by this time. But he is not dead. He was convicted on charges of "défaitisme" and treason, deprived of civic rights and exiled from Paris: Premier Herriot accorded him amnesty. And Caillaux is "coming back."

The League of Nations as a Failure

FROM RIVISTA D'ITALIA (MILAN AND ROME),
Nov. 15, 1924.

FELICE DE CHAURAND sets out to prove in a brilliant article that the League of Nations has failed to accomplish the task thrust upon it at the conclusion of the war. The failure of the League, he says, came about because those who framed the Covenant ignored at the outset the elemental popular forces that stood in the way of such an accomplishment. As was to be expected, the author of the article pays particular attention to President Wilson, about whom he writes:

His motive when he launched the idea of the League of Nations appeared at first to be the substitution of pacificism for imperialism as the keynote of the War of 1914. Today however, following the logical succession of events, we find that the reasons for American intervention were entirely different.

The constitution of the League of Nations appeared to Wilson as something in full accordance with what the American people wanted: in other words, a means whereby durable peace would be secured to Europe, so that the United States would obtain all material guarantees so necessary to the development of American political and economic life. Very soon, however, the difficulties of the Wilsonian enterprise appeared in their true light.

The soil of the old continent, which is all encumbered with the monuments and governmental traditions of the past, cannot adapt itself, even in a political sense, to the American architecture of the skyscraper. Nor is it possible to establish in Europe the straight lines that separate one from another the several American States. Every nation in Europe possesses so well defined a personality, with so many particular needs, that each refuses to join with others, even in order to face with a united front the dangers of an unknown future. The original mistake of Wilson was to

give the Covenant of the League precedence over the Peace Treaty. The second mistake was to make of the League of "Nations" a League of the "Victors" against the vanquished. The Holy Alliance of 1815 was no different thing. The writer continues by stating that European imperialism reappeared in more severe form after 1919, and enters into a lengthy discussion of the failures of the League in all the questions where its help was invoked.

The article is full of pessimism, and replete with ill bodings for the future. "Why, then, is Italy a member of the League?" he asks at last; only to answer: "Because as Mussolini said: 'We must be there, because the others are there; because they deal with problems, and because they make decisions, and because, such being the case, we cannot remain on the outside.'"

A Petition to the Directory

FROM EL SOL (MADRID), A CENSORED LIBERAL
DAILY OF DEC. 13, 1924.

NEARLY all Spanish political magazines having been suppressed by the Military Directory, a few of the remaining liberal papers carry on the struggle for the re-establishment of popular liberties. It is in this connection that El Sol of Madrid publishes a leading editorial, the gist of which is that, notwithstanding the rigors of the military régime, there are many signs in evidence that absolutism is passing even in Spain. The writer acknowledges that a resolutely liberal Government is not yet possible in Spain. Such a change cannot come suddenly and immediately. Nevertheless, lack of free discussion and the continued suspension of constitutional liberties, hampers the work of Spanish regeneration. In conclusion the editorial demands that the Directory "establish a certain margin within which the propagation of liberal ideas by spoken and written word may become possible."

Mistakes of Yesterday— Dangers of Tomorrow

FROM LA REVUE UNIVERSELLE (PARIS), JAN.
15, 1925.

CHARLES BENOIST, writing in this intensely nationalistic review, maintains, that "for the last five years France has been in the clutches of some terrible facts and consequences, and that an effort should be made to stop this movement before the whole body

of the country is crushed." In the opinion of the writer, the initial error, the main mistake of French diplomacy has been the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918. This is not because the armistice did not ask enough of Germany, but because it came prematurely and at a bad moment. No people had ever given itself up unconditionally to its enemies as the German people did; and yet the conditions imposed by the armistice were altogether too mild. Such a war should not have ended the way it did. Beaten Germany, still half drunk with her war enthusiasms, has not felt the magnitude of her defeat, because that sentiment was not imprinted vividly enough in her flesh.

The second fatal mistake, according to the French writer, lies in the preamble of the Treaty of Peace, wherein it is said: "The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and so forth, on one part * * * and Germany on the other. * * *" By this document alone the twenty-seven allied and asso-

ciated nations, recognized, consecrated and maintained the unity of Germany. The third mistake of French diplomacy was the loss of the military frontier of the Rhine, which was claimed by France and refused by the Allies, giving as an alternative the pact of guaranty of British and American support, in case of a possible German attack on France. This arrangement becoming null and void after the rejection of the Versailles Treaty by America, France again found herself facing Germany alone, without any allies.

Taken in connection with the other points of the situation, the Versailles Treaty, according to the writer, was a vast mistake, because it contained too many clauses, and remained open to too many interpretations. The writer argues that in the several conferences in Boulogne, Spa, Cannes, San Remo, Hythe, Chiquers, Genoa and Geneva, the Versailles Treaty has been subjected to continuous interpretations, every one of them detrimental to France.

DEATHS OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

FIELD MARSHAL BARON GRENFELL, one of Great Britain's military leaders, his last position being Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from 1904 to 1908, when he was made Field Marshal, in England, on Jan. 26, aged 84.

BARON FRIEDRICH VON HUGEL, religious philosopher and critic, in London on Jan. 27, aged 83.

GEORGE W. CABLE, author who depicted Creole life, and an essayist, at St. Petersburg, Fla., on Jan. 31, aged 80.

DR. DAVID B. SPOONER, Deputy Director of Archaeology in India since 1919, at Agra on Feb. 1.

MRS. ELLEN HAMLIN, widow of Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President with Lincoln, at Bangor, Me., on Feb. 1, aged 89.

REV. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, archaeologist, in Boston on Feb. 2, aged 85.

JOHN LANE, publisher, in London on Feb. 3, aged 70. In 1896 Mr. Lane established an American branch, which in 1921 was purchased by Dodd, Mead & Co.

HARRY FURNISS, well-known English caricaturist, at Hastings, England, Jan. 15, aged 70.

GENERAL SIR IBRAHIM FATHY PASHA, who was associated with Lord Kitchener in his operations in the Sudan, at Cairo on Jan. 18.

MARIA SOPHIA AMELIA, former Queen of Naples, daughter of Karl Theodore of Bavaria, who married Francis II., the last of the Bourbon Kings in 1859, at Munich on Jan. 19, aged 83.

DANIEL G. REID, international financier, in New York on Jan. 19, aged 66.

GENERAL KUROPATKIN, famous Russian commander in the Russo-Japanese War, in command at the battle of Mukden, at Shemshurino, in the Pskov District of Russia, on Jan. 22, aged 76.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, once aide de camp to Queen Victoria, recently Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, in London on Jan. 25, aged 81.

SIR JAMES MACKENZIE, British specialist for heart diseases, in London on Jan. 25, aged 72.

BARONESS MARIE VETSERA, in Vienna on Feb. 3, aged 78. She was the mother of Baroness Vetsera, who was found dead with the Austrian Crown Prince in a hunting lodge in Meyerling.

EDUARD VON GEBHARDT, notable German painter, in Berlin on Feb. 3, aged 84.

GEORGES VICTOR HUGO, grandson of Victor Hugo, in Paris on Feb. 4. He was the inspiration of one of Hugo's books, "L'Art d'Etre Grandpère."

JAMES BROWN BLYTH, champion of cheap postage and writer on economics, in London, on Feb. 8, aged 83.

EVERETT PEPPERELL WHEELER, American reformer and for many years President of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at New York, N. Y., on Feb. 8, aged 84.

SIR GEORGE ANDERSON CRITCHETT, surgeon oculist to the British King since 1901, at London, on Feb. 9.

ARNOLD WHITE, writer on political and social subjects, in London, on Feb. 5, aged 77.